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RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

VOL. IV.

A

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION

KING OF ENGLAND.

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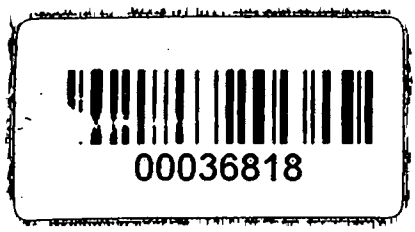
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HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

The great expedition projected by the Kings of France and England for the deliverance of the Holy Land from the yoke of Saladin, promised at the outset to be conducted with a degree of harmony of feeling and unity of design which had been wanting in every previous crusade. The two monarchs displayed the greatest cordiality towards each other, and the news of Richard's advance into Normandy for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement with the French sovereign, was hailed with joy by all Philip's subjects, whose passions were now turned from the late contest between the two kingdoms to the more chivalrous and inspiring objects of the present expedition. From the great military abilities of both the kings, from the vast resources

afforded by their territories, and from the unanimity which reigned between them, the utmost success was anticipated; but in the midst of preparations and rejoicings, a man was found, bold enough, we are told, to reprove the faults of one of these mighty princes, at the outset of an undertaking, the brilliancy of which dazzled the eyes of Europe, and rendered men blind to the various perilous elements which existed in the alliance between Richard and Philip.

At Rouen one of the English king's first acts was to listen to the preaching of the famous Fulke of Neuilly, one of the most eloquent advocates of the crusade. Towards the end of his discourse, however, Fulke addressed himself directly to the King, exclaiming, "Thou hast three dangerous daughters, Oh, Prince! who are leading thee to the brink of a precipice."

"Thou art mistaken, hypocrite," said Richard, aloud, "I have no daughters."

"Yes, thou hast," replied Fulke; "Pride, Avarice, and Lasciviousness;" upon which the King turning round to his peers, exclaimed, "Well, then, I give my pride to the Templars and Hospitalers, my avarice to the Cistercian monks, and my lasciviousness to the Prelates of the church."* From

* This story is told somewhat differently by Bromton, who places the reproof addressed to the King in the mouth of the Archbishop of Rouen, at the period when Richard was upon his death-bed. There is so much improbability, however, in this

all the accounts of the day there is every reason to believe that the satirical answer of the King was even more just than the reproof of the preacher.

Shortly after Christmas an interview took place between Richard and Philip, at the ford of St. Remi, where the first arrangements were made for the order of their expedition and for the safety of their territories during their absence. Oaths were taken, and treaties drawn up, binding the two monarchs to perpetual amity and mutual defence. Each swore to the other that he would guard the dominions of his ally as his own, and the great nobles of both kingdoms entered into a similar engagement. The prelates of France and England confirmed and sanctioned the vow, holding out the threat of ecclesiastical censure against any one by whom it should be broken. As the preparations of neither monarch, however, were complete, the period at which the union of their two armies was appointed to take place was adjourned, from Easter to Midsummer, and it was farther arranged that if either of the kings died during the crusade, his ally was to inherit his treasure, to assume the command of his army, and employ both in the recovery of the Holy Land. The monarchs then separated; and Richard proceeded to take measures for securing the

account, that I have preferred the statement of Knyghton. In the Life of Philip Augustus, written by M. Capefigue, and crowned by the Institute, the story as I have given it, is wrongly attributed to Bromton.

internal peace of his various dominions; but in all acts having reference to England, the King showed a degree of weakness and vacillation difficult to be accounted for, except upon the supposition which many persons entertained at the time, that he never intended to return to Europe.

Already violent dissensions had broken out between the Bishops of Durham and Ely, in regard to the exercise of the immense power with which their sovereign had entrusted them; and those two prelates, as well as the Queen-mother, Prince John, and Geoffrey, his natural brother, now Archbishop elect of York, were summoned into Normandy, where a great council was held for the arrangement of the affairs of England. In order to prevent any further conflict between the powers of Pusey and Longchamp, Richard restricted the rule of the former as high justiciary to the district lying between the Humber and the Scottish border, while the whole of the rest of the realm was consigned to the government of the Bishop of Ely. At the same time, doubting the ambitious character of his brother John, and suspecting, apparently without much cause, some sinister designs on the part of Geoffrey, the King exacted an oath from both that they would not return to England without his permission for three years from that time. Scarcely, however, had he taken this precautionary measure, before, at the intercession of his mother, Eleanor, he released John from his vow, and instead of com-

pelling him to take the cross, and thus remove him from the scene of temptation, he suffered him to return to England and pursue his machinations unopposed.*

It would be tedious and uninstructive to the reader to notice in this place all the various acts performed by the King of England preparatory to his expedition to the Holy Land. He visited several parts of his continental dominions, provided for their safe custody during his absence, and endeavoured to conciliate by various donations both the regular clergy and the religious communities, whom he too often outraged by his satirical discourse; but at the same time he did not in any degree neglect the military preparations which were necessary to ensure success to his arms; and while at Tours, he caused every sort of engine to be prepared or collected which was used in the warfare of that day. The multitudes who flocked to his standard were so great that the city of Tours was unable to contain them,† and the highways were crowded with soldiery. At Tours also the English monarch received from the hands of the Archbishop the pilgrim's staff and wallet; but while

* Bromton. Benedict Abbas. Hoveden. Richard of Devizes says, that John was only allowed to return to England under the superintendence of the Chancellor, William Longchamp, and that the period of his residence in this country was entirely to depend upon the Chancellor's will.

† Vinesauf.

leaning on the former, we are told, it broke under his weight, affording to his superstitious followers an evil augury of the result of his expedition, but in no degree checking the enthusiasm or confidence of the king.*

One of the chief causes of those lamentable disasters which had befallen the Christian forces in former crusades was the want of all law and regularity, too frequently to be observed in the armies of feudal times. Another was the treacherous enmity of the Greek emperors; and the impediments which had been thrown in the way of Frederic Barbarossa in the preceding year, served to show that the sovereigns of the Eastern empire were as little to be trusted, as at the period of the first crusade. To guard against the latter danger, and also to avoid the evils of a long march through a considerable part of Asia, the Kings of France and England had resolved to proceed by sea from two points not very distant from each other on the shores of the Mediterranean; and a fleet had been already collected to transport the English army to the scene of its future operations. During Richard's sojourn at Tours the commanders of the royal navy received orders to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, and meet the monarch and his land forces at Marseilles; but delays and difficulties occurred in the execution of the King's commands, the result of which I shall have to notice hereafter. In order to ensure better discipline and

* Hoveden.

regularity amongst his own forces than had previously appeared in the armies of the Cross, Richard, some time prior to the commencement of his march for the place of general rendezvous, appointed five persons, of whom two were bishops, to the supreme command in his fleet, and promulgated a code of laws to be observed during the expedition.

The punishments assigned by this capitulary are worthy of notice, though marked by the barbarism of the age. If a man killed another while on board ship, he was to be bound to the dead body, and cast into the sea. If the murder were committed on land, he was to be buried alive with the dead. If any one was convicted of having drawn his knife for the purpose of wounding another, or of having struck a crusader to the effusion of blood, he was to lose his hand; but if the blow was not followed by blood, he was to be thrice plunged into the sea. As often as any one used opprobrious language, or unjustly reproached another, he was to be fined an ounce of silver. A convicted robber was doomed to be shaved, tarred and feathered, and set on shore at the first port where the vessel might touch; and a general order was added that all persons during the voyage were to obey the commanders appointed by the king as they would the monarch himself.*

The dry and succinct chroniclers of that age con-

* Bromton. This brief code is dated from Chinon.

tent themselves in general with stating isolated facts, without affording explanations regarding motives, or pointing out the links of connexion between one event and another. Thus we find transactions taking place at this time, the natural tendency of which would apparently have been to create disunion between the sovereigns of England and France, but which produced no such result when they occurred. Summoned with Prince John, the Chancellor and others, to the presence of her son, Eleanor of Aquitaine, when she visited Richard in his continental dominions, brought with her the unhappy Princess Adelais,* the sister of the French monarch, the promised bride of the young King of England, and the reputed concubine of his deceased father. What was the object of such a proceeding we have no means of ascertaining; but the probable result was undoubtedly to raise at once the discussion of questions in regard to which difficulties presented themselves on all sides. It was impossible that the marriage of Richard and Adelais could take place: it was improbable that Philip would pass over the injury done to his sister, and the insult offered to his race, without some reparation; and whether Eleanor's object was to induce the French monarch to receive back the unhappy girl who had been entrusted to the dangerous guardianship of Henry II., and to consent to the dissolution of all ties between her and Richard,

* She is as frequently called Alice or Alais.

or whether, having in view the alliance which she afterwards negotiated for her son, she brought over Adelais in order to substantiate clearly the facts of her intrigue with his father, the step was certainly a most dangerous one at the moment when it was taken. It is evident, however, that no direct communication was at this time made to Philip of his sister's connexion with Henry; for the first occasion on which we find that the subject was brought under his notice presented itself during the residence of the two kings in Sicily; and Adelais, it would appear, returned to England without anything having been settled in regard to her future destiny.* Another point which remains unaccounted for in the history of the English monarch, is the extraordinary degree of favour to which Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, had risen in a few months. All the historians of the day pronounce but one opinion of his character and his demerits. He had already displayed the most grasping ambition, without either conduct or ability, and yet, in addition to the important offices which he already held, namely, those of Justiciary and Chancellor, he now received from Rome, at the King's earnest solicitation, legatine powers over the whole of Great Britain.† Authority more extensive than that of a King, for it extended

* Hoveden, 664. 668.

† Ricardus Divisiensis. Hoveden says merely, that Longchamp was appointed legate for England and Scotland; but Richard of Devizes expressly adds Wales and Ireland.

over all ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, was thus entrusted to him during Richard's absence; and had his talents been equal to his ambition, he would have had but little difficulty in making himself completely master of a country whose monarch was afar, and whose nobles had abandoned her.

During the interval which had been thus occupied by the King of England in arrangements which, if we except the military regulations above mentioned, deserve little praise either for discernment or equity, Philip of France had not been idle in preparing his kingdom for his absence, or his armies for the expedition before them. A great domestic calamity had befallen that prince in the loss of his first wife, Isabella;* and it is probable, from the words used by various historians, that this event not alone caused a change in his purposes regarding the custody of the kingdom of France during his crusade, but even for a time shook his resolution of visiting the Holy Land. It would seem certain that the French prince had intended to confide the Regency of France to his wife; but being now deprived of her by death, he entrusted that high office, together with the guardianship of his son, to his mother and his uncle the Cardinal of Champagne; and in an assembly of his nobles at Poissy he published a sort of ordonnance which was in some degree to have the effect of a will in case of his death

* Rigordus calls this princess Elizabeth, and says she died on the 15th of March, 1190.

during the crusade. By it a new system of administering justice was instituted, provision was made for the election of prelates and pastors, and a curious proviso is inserted, that in such cases the Regent should be guided by Bernard the Hermit of Vincennes. The disposition of the royal treasure in case of the King's death was then regulated; and the consent of his nobles was obtained to the arrangements he had made. In all his proceedings, Philip displayed that political foresight which, though affected at this time by the ardour and enthusiasm of youth, and mingled at all periods of his life with hasty and unscrupulous passions, was one of the chief characteristics of that monarch. Richard, on the contrary, though he evinced considerable sagacity in all military affairs, and, in many instances, that keen knowledge of human nature which should have led to wiser conduct, afforded a lamentable instance of the dangers to which a sovereign exposes himself in yielding to any impetuous desire or giving way to the impulses of an eager and vehement disposition. The English monarch as a soldier, a knight, and a commander, was far superior to his ally; but as a politician and a sovereign, Philip was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes of his age.

At length the day of St. John, appointed for the rendezvous of the two armies on the plains of Vezelai, approached, and about the same period the French and English kings set out from Paris and

from Tours, and soon found themselves at the head of one of the most numerous and best equipped hosts which had ever taken its way towards the Holy Land. All authors agree that when assembled for the first time, the armies of England and France comprised more than one hundred thousand regular soldiers, besides an immense multitude of attendants and camp-followers, while the numbers of both were daily increasing. Every sort of figure is employed by the various monkish writers to describe the splendour of the scene displayed by the camp. The extent is compared to a new city, the banners which fluttered in the air to flowers and butterflies. The gay dresses of the pilgrim warriors were further enlivened by the different colours of the crosses borne by the different nations; the Flemings displaying the emblem of their enterprise, in green; the English in white, and the French in red. The utmost harmony and unanimity prevailed, and the proximity of the supposed tomb of Mary Magdalene to their first place of meeting inflamed still further than before the superstitious enthusiasm of the allied hosts.

No long delay, however, was made on the plains of Vezelai, no time was allowed for ostentatious display or luxurious feasting, and after a halt of two days, spent principally in conferences, having for their object the establishment of order and discipline in the armies, the two sovereigns marched onward to Lyons, where the first disaster occurred

which they were destined to meet with. The wooden bridge over the Rhone, crowded with people from the neighbouring city, all eager to witness the passage of the crusaders, gave way under the heavy horses and arms of one of the leading bodies of cavalry, and an immense number of persons, men, women, and children, perished in the stream.* Several days were spent in repairing the injury, and passing the troops,† and it is probable that this accident, and the difficulty of finding provisions and accommodation during any length of time, for so numerous a force, determined the French and English monarchs to separate. Richard of Devizes hints with a sneer that the French selected the longer land journey, from their distaste to the sea;‡ but the extent of the voyage was not much diminished, and the difficulties of the journey very much increased, by Philip's selection of Genoa as his port of embarkation, while Richard, marching on down the valley of the Rhone, advanced to meet his navy at Marseilles. Before the two monarchs separated, however, some farther regulations were published for the better government of the army, and all women were strictly prohibited from following the crusading force, with the exception of a certain

* Hoveden.

† Vinesauf. This author declares that the bridge over the Rhone did not break till after the departure of the King of France for Genoa, and that it was Richard who repaired the bridge for the passage of his army.

‡ Mare Nauseans.

number of washerwomen, and others upwards of fifty years of age: a somewhat satirical comment upon the excesses which had taken place in previous expeditions. A new rendezvous was given at Messina, and every thing seemed to promise that Richard would reach the place of meeting first; but a fresh difficulty presented itself on the monarch's arrival at Marseilles. The English fleet had not yet appeared off the port, and for eight days Richard remained, waiting impatiently for its arrival. His forces, however, were considerably increased during his stay, by a multitude of crusaders who had preceded the march of the main army, and who, having spent their whole substance in Marseilles, flocked to the court of the King to offer their services. Many of these were retained, apparently as hired soldiers, by the English sovereign; and, after having visited several remarkable spots in the neighbourhood of the city, Richard gave way to his impatience, and determined to put to sea with a part of his army, leaving the rest to follow with the fleet.* Ten busses and twenty gallies† were easily engaged in the port, and on the seventh of August, 1190, the monarch set sail, greatly troubled, we are told, and confounded by the delay of his naval force.

* Bromton. Hoveden. Vinesauf. There is a remarkable discrepancy between Richard of Devizes and all other authors in regard to the non-arrival of Richard's fleet.

† Doctor Henry says three busses and twenty gallies, but Hoveden, Bromton, and others, state the number as I have given it.

The course pursued by the King, in his voyage to Messina, was along the coast of Italy, and after passing several other places, he touched at Genoa, where he held a conference with the King of France, who was then lying ill in a palace near the church of St. Laurence. At more than one town on the shores of the Mediterranean, Richard not only landed, but spent several days, probably calculating that the illness of the King of France, who remained for some time at Genoa, would enable him to reach Messina first. At the mouth of the Tiber, where the English monarch rested for two nights and a day, he was visited by Octavian, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. The motive of the Cardinal's coming, and the reception which he met with, are very differently stated by the authors of the time. By one account, the object of his visit would seem to have been merely to invite the King of England to visit Rome, which Richard excused himself from doing; but, from the statement of Hoveden and others, it would appear that his purpose was to obtain payment of certain dues claimed by the pontifical court;* to his application for which the crusading prince replied, by a charge of simony, and a good deal of abuse of the Pope and his Court, positively refusing to visit

* Hoveden does not exactly say that this was the object of the Cardinal's coming, but leaves the reader to imply that such was the case, from the answer made by the King of England. Matthew Paris, on the contrary, gives one to understand that the mission of the Cardinal was merely one of courtesy,

Rome, and proceeding on his way without any exchange of courtesy with the Pontiff.

At Naples and at Salernum, the King of England remained for some time, and at the latter city two of the principal English crusaders, Hugh Bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, left their great leader, and preceded him to Acre. We have no means of judging whether Richard had left orders for his fleet after its arrival at Marseilles to join him at Salernum, but it is certain that he waited in that city till he received intelligence that the great navy which he had collected in the ports of England and France, had reached the Sicilian city, with the forces which he had left behind. He then proceeded, sometimes by sea, sometimes by land, along the coast of Calabria, and had nearly lost his life in a tumult, while walking through one of the small Italian villages, with a single attendant. It would appear that Richard himself provoked the assault, by attempting to possess himself of a hawk or eagle belonging to one of the peasantry, from the consequences of which rash act nothing but his own great strength and courage saved himself and his companion. He showed more moderation, however, in his defence than his previous conduct had displayed, contenting himself with using the flat side of his sword till he reached a place of shelter. He then speedily

and that Richard replied, in his usual rough and hasty manner, imputing to the pontifical court several acts of simony already committed.

regained his ships, and passing the straits, reached Messina on the twenty-third of September, 1190.*

The first fleet which reached the Sicilian capital was that of England, consisting of a hundred galleys and fourteen large busses, ships of great size, though rudely constructed. Immense stores of provisions, arms, and money, horses, cattle, sheep, and other live stock, were contained in these vessels, and the decks were covered with men-at-arms, banners, and pennons;† but it would appear that the Sicilians,

* Hoveden. Bromton. Richard of Devizes. A little work which has been lately published on the life of Richard Cœur-de-Lion states, that that prince "was fortunate enough to fall in with his fleet at Salerno, from which place they proceeded to Messina." I do not know any authority for this assertion. Hoveden says, "that Richard left Salerno" when he heard his fleet had come to Messina. Vinesauf, who was of the expedition, declares, that the King and his great fleet made the whole voyage separate; and Bromton, with very little deviation from the account of Hoveden, informs us that the fleet, separated from Richard, arrived at Messina on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, otherwise the fourteenth of September, whereas Richard did not reach that city till the twenty-third.

† Richard of Devizes gives a curious description of these ships, and the whole of the account of the voyage both as furnished by that author, by Hoveden, and Vinesauf, is well worth the study of any one who takes an interest in the early history of the British navy. The detail here would occupy too much space; but we find that each galley was furnished with thirty oars, thirteen anchors, and three rudders, as well as two sails. Each carried forty men-at-arms, forty horses, forty foot soldiers, fifteen sailors, and provisions for an entire year, both for men and chargers; each of the busses had a double burden. If we

notwithstanding such an imposing force, took advantage of the king's absence to annoy the troops which had preceded him, by every sort of insult, in some cases proceeding to actual assault. It is probable, however, that the insolence of the crusaders might have given some provocation, although the only accounts which we possess of the transaction, coming from the armed pilgrims themselves, make but slight mention of such a fact.*

The next armament that arrived at the Sicilian city, was that of Philip King of France, which, it would seem, had been greatly shattered by a severe storm which the fleet encountered on the coast of Sicily. A number of horses, and the greater part of the provisions, had been thrown into the sea, to lighten the vessels; and it is probable that the *appearance* of the French force was not so brilliant on its arrival at Messina, as to make any very great impression on the mind of the citizens. Philip, however, who had shown great presence of mind, courage and activity, during the tempest, distributed a considerable part of his treasure amongst the soldiery to compensate for their losses, and the

are to trust to this account, the king's fleet must have brought to the shores of Sicily not more than eleven thousand soldiers, but other information shows that this calculation is very inaccurate. During the storm which separated the English fleet, several of the leaders were visited by St. Thomas à Becket, who bade them not fear, as he had taken them under his protection, and was the patron of their enterprise.

* Vinesauf.

French troops as well as their monarch were received by the Sicilians with hospitality and kindness, though a very different reception was prepared for Richard and his army.

The presence of such multitudes as were now flocking to Messina might well inspire some alarm in the mind of the King of Sicily, and induce him to follow the example of the Eastern emperors, who, as I have shown, had endeavoured to cause divisions between the leaders of previous crusades, and to support themselves against their more dangerous guests by alliances with others less formidable. In choosing between the monarchs of France and England, Tancred, now King of Sicily, was not only guided by the prior arrival of Philip, but by several other causes which combined to make him seek the amity of the French prince as a protection against the just or unjust demands of Richard. His own power in Sicily was held by a very precarious tenure, and Richard of England had more than one cause of reasonable complaint against the Sicilian prince, even before he set his foot on the shores of Tancred's dominions. On the death of William II. of Sicily, who had obtained the hand of the Princess Joan of England, sister of the reigning monarch, the Sicilian throne devolved, it would seem of right, to Constancia, now the wife of the Emperor Henry, who had lately succeeded his father, Frederic. Tancred, however, who is generally stated to have been a natural son of Roger, Duke of Apulia,

cousin of William II. and last male of the Norman line, usurped the throne of Sicily, and obtained the recognition of the court of Rome, to the exclusion of Constancia and her heirs. So far the King of England suffered no injury; but Tancred fearing the influence of the young Queen Joan in his dominions, had caused her to be arrested, and strictly imprisoned in Palermo. Requiring wealth as well as skill to maintain himself in power, he neglected or refused to pay the dowry of the princess, and withheld a legacy which William II. had left on his death-bed to Henry of England.

These circumstances rendered the approach of the English monarch, at the head of a large army, an event of no slight importance and peril to the King of Sicily; and Tancred immediately took advantage of the early arrival of Philip to win him to his interests, and to secure a mediator, if not an ally. The French troops were immediately received into Messina itself, and conferences took place between their sovereign and Tancred, who offered, we are told, an immense sum of money to Philip, if he would consent to affiance his son, Louis, to one of the daughters of the Sicilian usurper.* It is probable, that in this proposal, Tancred had in view not only to secure protection against the vengeance of the English king, but by a powerful alliance to strengthen himself in Sicily against the pretensions of Con-

* Rigordus.

stancia and her husband. Philip, however, wisely avoided the snare, foreseeing, that if he suffered himself to contract such intimate relations with a prince whose position was both dangerous and doubtful, he might be plunged, in his defence, into long and sanguinary hostilities, without the prospect of any benefit to France or to himself. Nevertheless, the attentions which he met with, the abundant supply of provisions which he immediately received, the frank and unhesitating admission into Messina which was granted to his troops, and the flattering conferences which followed with the King of Sicily, were assuredly not without effect in winning his friendship for his entertainer; and in the after dissensions which took place between Richard and Tancred, Philip always appeared acting rather as the ally of the Sicilian than of the English monarch.

At length, on the twenty-third day of September, the fleet which conveyed Richard and the portion of his army which had accompanied him from Marseilles, was seen from the coast of Sicily, steering towards Messina, with a favourable wind and under an unclouded sky. It would seem, that since his departure from the French port with ten large vessels and twenty galleys, the armament of the king had been greatly increased by ships of various tonnage which had joined by the way; for on his appearance off Messina, his fleet is described as very numerous, comprising many large vessels,

besides busses and galleys."* Unlike the King of France, whose navy had been shattered by a storm, and a great part of whose stores had been thrown overboard in the tempest, Richard of England appeared in all the pomp and splendour of military array, his decks crowded with barons, knights, and men-at-arms, glistening with polished armour, and fluttering with innumerable banners, pennons, and banderols. The sea, we are told by one who witnessed his arrival, foamed with the oars of his galleys; the ears of those who were collected on the beach to watch his approach were deafened with the sound of his trumpets and clarions, and their eyes dazzled with the light of his shields. The fame of his military exploits had long preceded him; and all were anxious to behold one who had already acquired the reputation of the greatest military commander of his day. It is more than probable, however, that tales of hasty violence had likewise reached Sicily before him, and that they now mingled fear with the admiration which was excited by the magnificent display of his fleet as it swept into the port of Messina.

An immense number, both of the inhabitants of the island and of the pilgrims who had preceded the English monarch, waited on the shore to receive him. The clergy and nobles of the city were there, the barons of France and Burgundy; and Philip

* Hoveden.

himself came down to meet his brother monarch and congratulate him on his safe arrival.

Some accounts state, that Tancred also appeared to receive his royal guest, but the great majority of historians do not mention the presence of the Sicilian prince; and after events render it extremely improbable that he should perform an act of courtesy which was not without its danger, and was belied by his subsequent conduct.

The English monarch and his friends were greeted with every appearance of joy by the French, and with loud acclamations by the Sicilian populace, who, attracted by the magnificence of Richard's host and the grace and majesty of his demeanour, pronounced him at once worthy of an imperial crown. Philip himself testified towards his ally the greatest friendship and regard, and a long conference took place between the two kings on the shore, after which the French monarch embarked his troops immediately, and prepared to set sail for Palestine.* Contrary winds, however, met him in the strait; and, unfortunately for all parties, he returned to Messina, resolved to pass the winter in Sicily.

Richard, after landing, took up his abode in a

* Hoveden; Bromton; Diceto. Richard of Devizes says, that the two kings remained in conference till the evening; but all other authors agree that the King of France set sail, as I have said, on the day of Richard's arrival.

house which had been prepared for him amongst the vineyards in the neighbourhood of the city, belonging to Reginald de Muhec or de Muschet; and one of his first acts, we are told, was to raise a gallows opposite the door of his dwelling as a terror to offenders.* The administration of justice was delegated to several judges, with orders to spare neither crusaders nor Sicilians who might be convicted of robbery in the camp; and the same author from whom we derive this statement informs us likewise, that these commands were strictly carried into execution by the officers of the English monarch, while the King of France, in a more lenient and perhaps more politic spirit, passed over, both in his own troops and in the natives of the country, many offences which were severely punished by Richard. The opposite conduct of the two princes obtained for the one the name of the Lamb, and for the other the name of the Lion, from the Sicilians.

The two following days after Philip's return to Sicily were spent by the allied sovereigns in mutual visits and conferences. The subjects of each mingled with their fellow crusaders in the most perfect amity, as if, says the historian, so many thousand men were all of one heart and one mind. But this good understanding was not destined to endure, and the quarrels which soon occurred between the English and the Messinese, had very

* Richard of Devizes.

nearly terminated in a total rupture between France and England.*

Hardly had Richard reached the shore of Sicily, when he sent messengers to Tancred, demanding the liberation of his sister, the payment of her dowry, and the execution of the will of William the Good. The Sicilian monarch, who was now at Palermo, did not venture to detain the queen any longer in prison, and accordingly he sent her immediately to Messina, but with small array, and with no satisfactory answer to Richard's demands, either in regard to her dowry, or to the legacy left to Henry II. The King of England himself went out to meet his sister, and led her to the house of the Knights of St. John, where a lodging had been prepared for her. On the following day she was visited by the King of France, who seemed much struck with her beauty and misfortunes; and the barons, both of France and England, somewhat hastily concluded that a nearer alliance would speedily take place between the monarchs of the two countries.†

* It were endless to point out all the errors, great and small, which are to be found in the account of this crusade, by Mills, and in the history of Richard, by Berrington, and those who have followed the latter. The principal mistakes I may briefly mark, but the innumerable lesser misstatements I must pass over without notice, though they often lead to inferences of a very erroneous kind.

† Bromton. Hoveden merely says, speaking of Philip and Joan, "Et videt eam, et gavisus est."

Whether Tancred absolutely refused to pay the dower of Joan, and the legacy left by William, or whether he merely attempted to evade the demand, we do not exactly know. Vinesauf says, that he gave a dubious answer, encouraged to such a course by the King of France; but that writer shows so much animosity towards Philip, and is so strongly opposed in his statements, both regarding the order and the character of these events, by writers who were in no degree inimical to Richard, that I am not disposed to receive his testimony in matters where his passions were concerned.* Whatever was the nature of Tancred's reply to the summons of the English king, Richard's fiery spirit would not brook delay or evasion; and hardly had his sister arrived, ere he took possession of two strong places in the neighbourhood of Messina: one an island fort, which apparently commanded the harbour; and another a strong edifice called the Monastery of "the Griffins," a name which would seem to have been given at that period to a part of the Sicilian population of mixed Saracen and European blood.† The

* The Abbot of Peterborough, Hoveden, Bromton, and others, state the occurrences day by day; whereas Vinesauf gives them in a confused and irregular manner, which would seem to show that he had written his account long afterwards, when facts themselves might be remembered and their order forgotten.

† Such is stated to have been the descent of the Gryfons or Griffins by some of the historians of the crusade (Vinesauf), and it is not necessary in this place to investigate whether this notion

monastery was immediately fortified by the King of England, and converted into a storehouse for the supply of his army; but these aggressions naturally not only irritated the Sicilians but alarmed them also, creating a suspicion that it was Richard's intention to make himself master of the whole island.* From these causes and many others, frequent disputes occurred between the inhabitants and the soldiery; and it is evident, although the English historians endeavour to disguise the fact, that various acts of violence and licentiousness were committed by the forces under the command of the lion-hearted monarch. The citizens of Messina accused the pilgrims of adultery with their wives, and a very suspicious story is told of a quarrel between one of the crusaders and a woman of the place, said to have been about a loaf of bread. Certain it is that her cries brought a number of her countrymen to her aid, and that a tumult took place, in which several of the English were injured. On another occasion, greater violence still was displayed on both parts. The citizens and soldiery flocked up in numbers to the scene of contention; the gates were closed against the English; the walls manned; and, excited to fury, the men-at-arms were marching,

is just or not. Other authors, however, declare that the name Griffin was applied to the Greek population of Sicily, Crete, and Calabria. There is some confusion amongst different authors as to the two points seized by Richard.

* Hoveden.

without order, to the attack of Messina, when news of the affray was carried to Richard, who, instantly rushing forth, drove back his troops, striking several persons with his leading staff. Not all the authority of the king was sufficient, however, to quell the tumult entirely, and the aspect of both parties was still very menacing, when, entering a boat, Richard hastened to confer with Philip, for the purpose of concerting measures to put an end to the dissensions which had arisen. It is not clearly proved that the troops of France had given any support to the citizens of Messina in their contest with the English crusaders: but there is every reason to believe that they had shown that degree of favour to the former which was well calculated to encourage them in their resistance; and, beyond all doubt, Richard, knowing his own hasty temper, was anxious to prevent anything like a collision between his own forces and those of Philip. While the two monarchs were in conference, however, several of the principal persons of Messina interfered successfully to allay the tumult, and induce both parties to retire.

On the following day, the 4th of October, four eminent Sicilian nobles and prelates, with several notable men of the city of Messina, visited the camp of the King of England, in company with the French monarch, and many of his great vassals, for the purpose of pacifying Richard, and removing the ill feeling which existed between his forces and the

Messinese. The conferences were protracted during some hours, but in the mean time an immense multitude of the citizens congregated in arms upon the neighbouring mountains, menacing the camp of the English king. A party even attacked the quarters of Hugo le Brune; and the news being carried to Richard, he gave way to one of those furious bursts of anger which too frequently overpowered his better judgment. Starting from the council table, he ordered his host to arm, and, at the head of a small body collected in haste, mounted the hills which the Sicilians had thought inaccessible from that side, and drove the Messinese force in confusion back into the city.

Not content with this speedy success, Richard ordered his whole army to advance to the attack of Messina.* Leading his troops himself, the English monarch forced the gates, scaled the walls, and planted his banner on the towers of the city, notwithstanding a vigorous resistance offered by the inhabitants, with the aid of the French forces quartered in the town. Five knights and twenty men-at-arms of Richard's household fell in the assault, and his irritated soldiers undoubtedly committed a great deal of rapine and bloodshed, notwithstanding the strict commands of the king that all who submitted should be spared. The galleys in the port also were burned, and there is reason to believe that still more distressing and wanton outrages

* Benedict Abbas.

were perpetrated.* The terror inspired by this act of rigour suppressed all tendency to resistance on the part of the Sicilians ;† but a greater danger arose from the appearance of the banner of England upon the walls of Messina, than that which had menaced Richard from the irritation of the populace. It is clear from every contemporary account, that Philip of France had shown a decided leaning to the Sicilians in all their disputes with the troops of the English monarch, and that a part of his soldiery, with or without his orders, had aided the Messinese in the defence of their walls.‡ Messina,

* Mulieres quoque nobiliores sibi diripuerunt victores. Vinesauf. The manner in which Mills relates these two events is as follows:—"Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet, with a few knights, finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch therefore regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French."

† William of Newbury, whose work possesses more the character of a history than perhaps any other narrative of those times, mentions nearly all the facts which I have stated, and particularly points out that the French took a principal part in the defence of Messina against their English allies.

‡ Almost all accounts agree in the statement that the French assisted in the defence of the city, though Richard of Devizes marks particularly, that the King of England did not suffer his men to approach either the quarters of the French troops or the palace in which Philip had taken up his abode. For the statement of Mills, that the English monarch planted his standard in the quarters of the French, there is no authority whatever.

however, it must be remarked, had been assigned to the King of France as his quarters in Sicily, and the sight of the standard of England floating upon the battlements of the city was certainly not consistent with his dignity. It is probable that gentle remonstrance, as soon as the turbulence of passion had subsided, would have easily induced Richard to remove the obnoxious symbol of conquest; but the tone taken by the King of France was not that which was likely to have any effect with the lion-hearted monarch. He demanded haughtily that Richard should take down his banner from the walls, and give up the custody of the gates to him as his sovereign lord;* a title which could only be urged in regard to the continental dominions of the English king. Richard's wrath, which had been appeased by his victory, was again excited in the very highest degree by this imprudent message; and, had it not been for the interposition of several of his wisest friends, he would have sent an answer, we are told, which must have produced instant hostilities between France and England. Richard consented, at the intercession of his councillors, that the standards of France and England should appear conjointly upon the walls of Messina,† and it would seem to have been likewise agreed that the custody of the gates should be entrusted to the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospi-

* Vinesauf. † Idem.

tal,* while efforts were made to induce the King of Sicily to enter into some arrangement satisfactory to the English sovereign, respecting the dower of Joan, and the legacy of William the Good.

The events which followed are very obscure; the statements made regarding them by various con-

* Hoveden states the above facts, but adds, that Richard, to please the King of France, removed his banners. On this point, however, I think that Vinesauf, who was an eye-witness, may be trusted. William of Newbury attributes the enmity shown afterwards by the French king entirely to these events, and his words are very remarkable, especially in a writer of that age. They are as follows:—"Porro Rex Francorum urbis hospitæ irruptionem ad suam trahens injuriam, et pro nihilo ducens indulti hospitii gratiam, implacabilem contra Regem Anglorum concepit totisque imbibit medullis rancorem: qui nimirum occultatus pro tempore, erupit suo tempore, claruitque orbi terrarum, ut suo loco narrabitur." Guil. Neubrig. cap. XII.—I have relied very little upon the account of Richard of Devizes, in regard to the capture of Messina; in the first place, because I find his statements contradicted by other authors apparently better informed; and, in the next place, because his narrative is disfigured by a tone of bombast which casts upon it a strong suspicion of inaccuracy. The work is undoubtedly a very valuable one, and may, I think, be relied upon with far greater security in regard to events which took place in England or in the continental dominions of Richard, than in regard to matters affecting the monarch during his crusade, except respecting naval affairs. The same charge of bombast holds good against Vinesauf; but the latter being an eye-witness of most of the events he relates, carries more weight with him in regard to the history of the crusade than Richard of Devizes, whom we do not know to have been present.

temporaries being found to conflict at almost every point. The French historians afford but little information, generally passing over in silence Richard's attack upon Messina, and even Bernard the treasurer only alluding to it vaguely. I should, under these circumstances, follow implicitly the statements of Vinesauf, were not his animosity towards the King of France so apparent as to render his sincerity doubtful. The only means afforded by contemporaries for correcting his partial accounts are the slight indications to be found in Hoveden. From him we discover, that three days after the capture of the city, the Messinese sent hostages to the King of England for their peaceable behaviour, promising, at the same time, to give the town into his possession, unless the Sicilian monarch speedily satisfied the just claims of Richard. Certain it is, however, that the English sovereign did not rest contented with these pacific declarations, but began at once to erect a fortress in the neighbourhood of Messina, of such a height as to command the walls. To this he gave the name of Mategriffin, or Kill Griffin, in contempt of the people so called.

In estimating Richard's character, it would be desirable to know whether this offensive act was provoked by any fresh aggression on the part of the Sicilians. It is certain, that nearly at the same time an attempt was made to starve the English army in its camp, by refusing all supply of provisions; and Vinesauf places this occurrence before the construc-

tion of the castle I have mentioned.* I am inclined to believe that such was really the order of events; for we find that the negotiations which were opened with Tancred proceeded much more rapidly after this decided step had been taken by the King of England than before. Whether they were embarrassed by the secret and deceitful opposition of Philip, as some have asserted, or facilitated by his intercession, as others declare, they were brought more speedily to a conclusion than the magnitude of the claim might have led men to expect.†

The demand of Richard upon the King of Sicily, comprising the dower of his sister, and the legacy of William the Good to Henry II., amounted to the whole of the county and town of Mount St. Angelo, together with a great chair of gold, for the use of the dowager Queen, a table of gold of twelve feet and a half in length, and a foot and a half in breadth, with two tripods of the same metal as trestles for the table, a tent of silk under which two hundred knights might dine at once, twenty-four cups of silver, and twenty-four silver dishes, sixty thousand measures of wheat, and sixty thousand measures of barley, as many of wine, and an hundred armed galleys of the largest size, to serve the King of England for two years, with a complete

* Vinesauf, cap. xix. and xx.

† We find, by a letter from the King of England to the Pope, that the whole of the arrangements between Richard and Tancred were concluded before the eleventh of November.

equipage of men, and full stores for the specified period.*

The enormous extent of this claim rendered it impossible for the King of Sicily, however just it might be, to discharge such liabilities at a time when great expenses were absolutely necessary to maintain himself on the throne he had usurped. In the year when this demand was made, all the necessaries of life were enormously dear in Sicily; for we find from Rigordus, that at this period the price of wheat at Messina was twenty-four sous of Anjou, for the measure of twelve bushels,† barley eighteen sous for the same quantity, wine fifteen sous per measure of two gallons, and a fowl twelve deniers, which the historian marks as peculiarly high ;‡ and thus, to purchase the amount of corn and wine demanded, would have exhausted the treasury of the Sicilian monarch.

* Bromton, Benedict Abbas, Hoveden, &c. Richard of Devizes says that the cups and dishes were of gold. The exact size of the measure of wheat and wine referred to in the text I cannot rightly ascertain, as the word employed, *salines*, or *silinas*, is a word of the middle ages, referring to a varying quantity.

† The word is thus translated by M. Guizot.

‡ It is very difficult to ascertain the exact value of the sous of Anjou at this period. There was undoubtedly a slight difference between it and the sous tournois, which was the fiftieth part of a mark of fine silver, and weighed ninety-two grains eight-fiftieths, (see Le Blanc, p. 161,) or rather more in weight than a shilling of our days. But this, considering the ordinary rate of provisions at the time, would give such an enormous

A compromise was therefore proposed, and, after various conferences, Richard, we are told by Hoveden, agreed to receive twenty thousand ounces of gold as satisfaction for the dowry of his sister, and a like sum, partly as an equivalent, for the legacy left by William the Good to King Henry II. of England, partly as the dowry of his daughter, affianced by the treaty to Arthur, nephew of the English monarch.* The account of the Abbot of Peterborough, however, is somewhat different.

He, as well as Hoveden, declares that the King of Sicily asserted that a sum had been paid to Queen Joan in satisfaction of her dowry, before she joined Richard at Messina; and the Abbot then goes on to state, that Tancred agreed to pay twenty thousand ounces of gold as an equivalent for the legacy of William the Good, and as the dowry of his own daughter. It is to be remarked that neither in the letter of Richard to the Pope, announcing the treaty between himself and Tancred, nor in the treaty itself, as preserved by Hoveden,† is there any men-

sum for the price of corn at Messina per quarter, that I cannot help thinking some mistake must have been made by Le Blanc in his calculation of the weight of a sous. The question, however, of the value of money at this time is exceedingly obscure.

* Hoveden. The treaty mentions the dowry alone. Rymer, vol. i.

† The treaty between Richard and Tancred is couched in the most barbarous Latin of a barbarous age, and is, moreover, evidently full of errors of transcription, which greatly embarrass the sense. Hoveden's account of the whole matter is also very

tion of a farther sum of twenty thousand ounces of gold; but Hoveden distinctly asserts, in two places, that such a sum was given, over and above that mentioned in the treaty, and Rigordus, the historian of Philip, confirms this statement; declaring that forty thousand ounces were paid to the English king, of which one-third went into the treasury of the King of France. He declares also that Philip had a right to one half, but upon what plea, he does not condescend to state; nor is the foundation very perceptible for a claim to any part, except it be found in the efforts of the French prince to reconcile Richard and Tancred. For the honour of the crusading monarchs, it is to be hoped that there was no compact between them to extract a large sum from the fears of the Sicilian usurper, and to divide the booty, although such a suspicion naturally arises from the expressions used by Rigordus.

It was agreed between the English and Sicilian kings, that if, from any unforeseen circumstance, the marriage between Arthur and the infant Princess should not be consummated, her dowry should be restored without cavil or delay; and the English monarch and his principal nobles swore not only to

obscure, but I am inclined to think that it is substantially correct in the point where it differs from the treaty, as he takes particular pains to point out that the second sum of twenty thousand ounces was in addition to that mentioned in the convention.

maintain peace with the King of Sicily, but also to aid in defending him against all enemies so long as they should remain in his dominions. In return, Tancred and his nobles took an oath to observe strictly their engagements to amity with Richard and his forces during the period of their sojourn, and the chief cause of dispute between the two Kings being removed, it became undoubtedly the best policy of the Sicilian monarch to cultivate the friendship of so powerful an ally, rather than to expose himself to Richard's resentment at a moment when Apulia was actually invaded, and Sicily itself menaced by the forces of the Emperor Henry.

Not contented with naming his nephew Arthur as his heir, in the treaty above mentioned, in case of his own death without children, Richard, with a degree of anxiety which showed both his suspicion and dislike of his brother John, endeavoured to establish the title of the young Duke of Brittany to be considered as his presumptive successor, so as to put it beyond all after question, and also to form for him such connexions as would secure his easy accession in case of the throne becoming vacant. Although the historians of the time attribute to the Bishop of Ely's personal enmity towards John, the negotiations which took place at this period for a strict alliance between the King of Scotland and the young Prince Arthur, I can myself entertain no doubt, from the various circumstances which accompanied the embassy to the Scottish

monarch, that the envoys were despatched by Longchamp, in consequence of secret orders from Richard himself. The chronicle of Mailros, without commenting upon this embassy, states distinctly, that Richard not only solemnly declared Arthur to be the heir of all his dominions, in case of his own decease without children, but that he caused his bishops, counts, and barons to recognise the young Prince as such, and bound them to his cause by an oath.* The coincidence of the two acts would go far to establish the fact that the negotiations with the Scottish king were authorized by Richard, and it is not improbable that his continuous and strenuous support of the Bishop of Ely, long after his misconduct was sufficiently established, proceeded from political motives as well as personal favour. So long as Longchamp remained in power, the intrigues of John were restrained by the watchful eye of a personal enemy, and the rights of Arthur guarded by a jealous friend ;† but in the end, the skill and cunning of the queen-mother, acting on behalf of her youngest and favourite son, proved more powerful

* Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1191. This chronicle is exceedingly valuable, and it would seem to have been compiled with great care by the monks of Melrose, containing many curious particulars illustrative of events mentioned by other authors. The facts were apparently noted down by the abbots or monks as they took place, and in many passages we find a liberal and enlightened spirit not common amongst the recluses of that day.

† See note at the end of this book.

against an unscrupulous and unwise minister than the favour of the absent Richard in his support.

Various other acts affecting England were performed by Richard during his stay at Messina; but that which is most worthy of notice is a wise and just ordinance of the King, by which he resigned for ever the iniquitous claim which all preceding monarchs had put forward to the goods contained in shipwrecked vessels. In the course of the month of October, the monarch, by a charter under his hand, pronounced what was called his *right of wreck* at an end, both in regard to the coast of England, and to those of his continental dominions; declaring, in the most formal manner, that if any one was found alive on board a vessel driven on shore, his goods and chattels could not be seized as a due of the crown, and that the heirs of a drowned person, according to their propinquity, might claim any property he possessed on board the shipwrecked vessel; but the right of heritage was restricted to sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, and, failing these, the crown seized as of right.* This was a great and important reform, and the first amelioration that I find in history of the barbarous and cruel system which terminated with the abolition of the *droit d'aubaine* in France.

* Hoveden. Diceto. In Rymer, there is to be found a charter very nearly in similar terms, dated, by mistake, 20th Henry II. This date misled me for some time; but the names which are attached to the document have since shown me that it should have been placed under the 20th of Henry III.

A new code was enacted about the same time, by Richard, for the better maintenance of discipline on board his fleet; and though it displays in no inconsiderable degree the rudeness of the times, it affords a curious proof of the monarch's careful consideration and anxiety for the good of his subjects, which it must be confessed was not always to be found in his conduct towards them. He regulated the exchange of money, marking that four denarii of Anjou were to be received as one denarius of England. He endeavoured to prevent traders from taking any means of raising the price of bread or meat in the army; and he fixed the profits upon the sale of all kinds of merchandise at ten per cent. as the maximum. He forbade any person under the rank of a knight, who had engaged with a leader in the crusade, to withdraw from that leader's service, and strictly enjoined all commanders not to receive any follower of another without his consent. Gaming was prohibited to all the inferior persons of the army, but the vice was tolerated in the knights and clergy, with a restriction as to the amount, and was reserved with unlimited scope to sovereign princes. Several other regulations were added, affecting the pecuniary transactions of the crusaders amongst themselves, and the distribution of their property in case of death; and several persons of high station were appointed to see these laws carried into execution.

Many of these enactments derived all their force and value from the state of society, and the circum-

stances in which they were promulgated; but there can be no doubt that they tended to raise the character of the King in the estimation of his followers. Another act, however, was performed by Richard at Messina, which it is scarcely possible for us in the present age to regard as anything but personally degrading to the monarch, but which, probably, in the eyes of a host, strongly affected by the influences of a superstitious church, was not less calculated to secure respect than wise laws and liberal institutions. Having assembled all the bishops who had accompanied him on his expedition, Richard presented himself before them with a bunch of scourges in his hand, lamented his libidinous propensities, confessed his sins, renounced the vicious course of life which he had hitherto followed, received what the chronicler terms condign penance from his clergy, and we are assured became from that time a God-fearing and virtuous man, much to the edification of the devout pilgrims.*

Either as a proof of his devotion and piety, or merely for the gratification of his curiosity, Richard, having heard that a certain Abbot of Calabria, named Joachim, had become famous throughout the country for his interpretation of the prophecies, especially those of the Apocalypse, sent for him to Messina, and was highly delighted, we are told, by his conversation. In the presence of the King and the

* Reasonable doubts may be entertained as to the accuracy of the latter statement.

assembled prelates and barons, the monk explained several passages of Scripture, and particularly sought to prove that Saladin was the sixth great oppressor of the church mentioned by St. John. He announced, however, that in seven years the Sultan should fall. Richard, it would appear, could not restrain his tendency to repartee, and exclaimed aloud, "Then why are we come so soon?"

"Your coming was most necessary," replied Joachim; "because the Lord will give you the victory over his enemies, and will exalt your name above all the princes of the earth."

The Abbot moreover declared, with a freedom of vaticination which in after ages would probably have consigned him to the prisons of the Inquisition, that Antichrist was already born in Rome, and would eventually be raised to the Apostolic seat. Upon some of these points Richard entered into controversy with him, and showed himself skilful, we are assured, in such disputes, even against the celebrated Calabrian. The bishops of Richard's court also took part in the discussion, and, as usual, every one retained his own opinion, after having wasted many hours in a war of words.

More useful occupations, however, filled up a considerable portion of Richard's time during his stay at Messina. His vessels, which had been attacked by the worm, were careened and repaired, and a great number of those vast military engines, which supplied the place of artillery in the sieges of the middle ages, were constructed by the monarch's

orders. Nor were sports and amusements wanting to lighten the unoccupied hours of the two courts, between which the most perfect amity was apparently restored. The princely followers of the French sovereign were frequent guests at the table of the King of England; and Richard's wealth and power were displayed upon many occasions in a manner perhaps not the most agreeable to his rival and ally. One of the banquets of the English monarch was interrupted by a bloody contention between the Genoese and Pisan seamen in the port, and the sailors in his own ships,* which was with difficulty pacified, and the rancorous spirit which the Italians still retained was displayed on the following day by the murder of an English rower, in the midst of Divine service, at the church of St. John. The cause of the quarrel is unknown; but, amongst the rude and barbarous of all ranks, it not unfrequently happens that sports and amusements terminate in anger and bloodshed, and such had nearly been the case with some of the pastimes of Richard himself. I have noticed in a former passage of this work the strong causes of dissatisfaction which had been given to Richard, before his accession to the throne, by the

* Hoveden calls the persons attacked by the Italians "*Galiotas regis Richardi,*" but Vinesauf speaks of them as "*custodes,*" which would seem to imply that they were merely the persons left in charge of the vessels; but from the sanguinary and protracted nature of the struggle, I am inclined to believe that all the seamen of Richard's fleet must have been engaged.

famous William des Barres, called the Achilles of France; but, on taking the cross, all private dissensions were laid aside, and the monarch and his former enemy appeared to have been upon terms of familiarity, if not of friendship. It would seem even, that the celebrated French knight was not an unfrequent guest at the table of the King of England, and in the commencement of February, after dinner, the whole of the English court, accompanied by a number of the French nobility, went forth, as was very customary, to practise military sports in the neighbourhood of Messina. As the royal party returned, it passed through the midst of the city, and encountered a peasant leading in an ass loaded with canes. We find that the courtly company did not scruple to relieve the beast of its burden, and using the canes as lances, commenced tilting at each other in the streets of Messina. In this extempore tournament, it unfortunately happened that the King of England and William des Barres singled each other out as opponents. The two champions broke their canes upon each other, but in so doing, Des Barres, it would appear, raised Richard's anger by tearing a part of the monarch's dress.* Spurring

* I have not ventured to state what garment it was which thus suffered injury, for the question is not so unimportant as it seems at first sight. The word used is *cappa*, which is sometimes employed to signify one part of the dress, sometimes another. I find it written in various authors cappa and capa, and it seems to me that a distinction is occasionally made. Capa,

furiously upon him, Richard endeavoured to throw his adversary from his horse, but in the act the girths of the King's own charger gave way, and Richard was compelled to spring to the ground. Another horse was immediately led up for the monarch, and the struggle recommenced, Richard still endeavouring to unhorse Des Barres, without being able to effect his purpose. In the midst of the strife, the son of the Earl of Leicester, who, the day before, had been dubbed a knight by the monarch's hand, hurried up to the assistance of the King, but Richard sharply bade him desist and leave him to deal with his opponent alone. The quarrel proceeded, we are told, with violent words and acts, till at length, Richard, frustrated in his attempt to overcome his antagonist, commanded him to quit his presence and never to appear before him again, as from that day forth he should regard him as an

I imagine, though without any certainty, is more generally used to signify a cope for the shoulders, or a vestment worn by soldiers, somewhat similar in form to a coat of arms, with a round hole in the centre through which the head was thrust; and cappa, I find not unfrequently applied to a riding-hood, somewhat similar to a cowl, much used at this period, and in the succeeding century. If the latter is meant by Hoveden, it would prove that Des Barres aimed at the King's head, which, as the cane was held as a lance, and Richard's face was undefended, might well be considered as malicious, endangering the monarch's sight. M. Capefigue translates the word, mantle, but I do not think that it ever bears exactly that interpretation.

enemy.* The more minute particulars of the transaction are not known, but it is clear that, either from mortified vanity or from some serious offence on the part of Des Barres, Richard retained a feeling of rancour not consistent with his character. The French knight immediately hastened to the presence of his own monarch to seek protection against the enmity of the King of England, and Philip shortly afterwards endeavoured to make his vassal's peace with his ally. But Richard would receive no apologies, nor listen to the persuasions of Philip, and it was not till many weeks had passed, that the exhortations, and even menaces of the church induced him to lay aside his anger.

In all these transactions, as well as in his general demeanour, Philip of France appears in a more dignified light than his brave but somewhat rash and careless ally; but two other events occurred shortly after, in which the character of the French monarch is not seen to the same advantage. We have already found the French troops acting with the Sicilians in the defence of Messina, but Richard does not seem

* The only accounts that we have of this event are given by English writers, Hoveden and the Abbot of Peterborough, two authors, the one of whom evidently copied from the other. There seems, however, to be no partiality in their statement, as they distinctly represent Richard as frustrated by Des Barres. It is extraordinary, however, that neither Rigordus, nor William the Breton, the latter of whom delighted in the description of such scenes, takes the slightest notice of a transaction in which the prowess of the French knight shone conspicuous.

to have retained any feelings either of animosity or suspicion on that account, and probably felt that his attack upon a city in which Philip's army was quartered, was not very decent, even if barely justified by the hostility of its inhabitants. A discovery, however, was about to be made, calculated to produce doubts of the good faith of the King of France, which were never removed, and which the whole course of his after conduct tended strongly to confirm. The dangerous position in which Tancred of Sicily was placed by the progress and preparations of the Emperor, naturally led him to court the friendship of the English monarch; and an invitation to the Sicilian court at Catania was accepted by Richard. Setting out with a splendid retinue on the first of March, the King of England proceeded to visit Tancred of Sicily, for the first time, and was received with every demonstration of friendship and respect. The Sicilian prince came some way on the road to meet him, and introduced him into Catania amidst acclamations and rejoicings, leading him at once to the celebrated shrine of St. Agatha, where the two monarchs offered up their prayers together. In the beautiful palace of Tancred, Richard remained three days and three nights; and on the eve of his departure, magnificent presents of gold and jewels were offered to his ally by the king of Sicily, of which Richard would only accept one small ring as a gage of amity. In return, Richard presented to his host the famous sword of King Arthur, called

Caliburn, the authenticity of which was perhaps as clearly ascertained as any of the many relics of the Romish church;* but Tancred did not rest satisfied without conferring a more valuable and opportune present upon his former enemy, than either the ring or the sword; and ere they parted, he gave the King of England four large ships and fifteen galleys, which were not a little serviceable in transporting the crusaders to the coasts of Syria. On Richard's departure, the Sicilian monarch accompanied him two days' journey on the way, as far as the small town of Taormina; but there, before they parted, he exposed to the English king a part, at least, of the secret negotiations of Philip, and placed in his hands a letter written by his French ally, and delivered by the Duke of Burgundy, in which the King of France assured the Sicilian prince, that Richard was a traitor, and did not keep the peace to which he had sworn. At the same time, Philip offered, in person and with his power, to aid Tancred in destroying the King of England and his army, if the

* This gift is spoken of by several authors, who afford no information as to where or how this famous weapon was procured. Except in this instance, I believe it is never mentioned in authentic history. Some light, however, may be thrown on the subject by the statements of Knyghton and Bromton, both of whom give an account of the discovery of the tomb of King Arthur in the reign of Henry II., and one of whom, if I mistake not, positively states that he had seen and touched it, and read the inscription upon the leaden cross with which it was decorated.

Sicilian would give battle to the English troops, or attack them in the night.

With horror and indignation, Richard replied, "No traitor am I, nor have I been, nor will I be; and the peace which I have concluded with you, I have in no degree transgressed, nor will transgress, so long as I live. Yet it is not easy for me to believe that my lord, the King of France, my sworn companion in this pilgrimage, has sent to you these accusations against me."

Tancred replied, that he gave him the actual letters which Philip had sent to himself by the Duke of Burgundy, and that if the Duke dared to deny that he had brought those letters from his lord, the King of France, he was ready to prove it against him as was usual upon such occasions.

Taking the letters with him, Richard hastened back to Messina; but he did not there find the King of France, who, either from jealousy of the intimacy which had sprung up between Richard and Tancred, or from apprehension that his secret practices would be discovered, was even then on the road to Catania, and must have passed the King of England as the latter returned, for we find that he met the Sicilian prince at Taormina on the evening after Richard had left him, and remained there with him the whole night. On Philip's return to Messina, Richard immediately sought an interview with him; and the countenance and demeanour of the King of England at once showed his politic and unscrupulous ally

the indignation which had been excited by the base transaction just mentioned. In answer to Philip's inquiries in regard to the cause of Richard's anger, the British monarch sent a statement, by the Count of Flanders, of all that the King of Sicily had alleged, and entrusted the letters to the Count to lay before the King of France. For a moment, we are assured, Philip was confounded, and remained silent, not knowing what to reply ;* but at length, recovering himself, he said, "This is a falsehood ; and now I know that the King of England seeks a cause of quarrel against me, because he wishes to send back my sister, whom he has sworn to marry ; and it is very well known that he will refuse to keep his word, and wed another. Therefore to him and his I am an enemy as long as I live."

This answer of Philip's was cunningly devised ; for although the frank and straightforward character of Richard leaves no doubt upon the mind of the historian, that the idea of forging such letters and fabricating such a tale could never enter into his mind, yet there were circumstances which at the time might give an air of probability to an accusation otherwise utterly incredible.

In the course of the month of February, Eleanor, the mother of the English king, had arrived at Naples, after performing a long journey by land, under the escort of the Count of Flanders and a large body of crusaders. But Eleanor did not come

* Hoveden.

alone: she brought with her Berengaria, the beautiful daughter of Sancho, King of Navarre. We are told by all modern historians, and by some contemporaries, that Richard, while Count of Poitou, had met and become attached to the Navarrese princess; but none of the particulars of their previous acquaintance are mentioned. Richard's long residence in Gascony, however, and the proximity of that province to the kingdom of Navarre, render the fact stated very probable. Many obstacles, however, existed, both before and after the death of Henry II.; and, up to the commencement of the Crusade, the union of the young monarch with the object of his passion seemed most unlikely. His close alliance with the King of France, and his engagement to that monarch's sister, confirmed by the most solemn treaties and by the deposit of the French princess's dowry as well as her person, in the hands of Henry, were all well known at the courts of Europe, and must have suggested to the mind of the King of Navarre impediments of a kind scarcely possible to be overcome.* To remove these and the objections founded upon them, had been the task of the queen-mother, Eleanor, and

* It is not necessary to point out particularly to the reader the gross series of errors regarding these events contained in the History of Spain and Portugal, published in Lardner's Cyclopædia. In page 21, vol. iii., in speaking of the arbitration of Henry II. between the courts of Castile and Navarre, the author says, "The English monarch could entertain no unfavourable sentiments towards the father-in-law of

there could be no doubt that personal feelings stimulated her exertions to free her son from the bonds which bound him to Adelais, and to unite him irrevocably to another. I have already noticed the infamous conduct of Henry II. to the unhappy Princess of France, and in order to induce Sancho V. to take the first steps towards uniting Richard to his daughter, Eleanor might suggest, first, the immense importance of obtaining an ally whose territories extended almost to the foot of the Pyrenees, and whose power and prowess could afford the strongest possible support to the House of Navarre in its interminable struggles with the Kings of Castile; and, secondly, that the marriage of the young monarch of England with the French princess was impossible, inasmuch as she had already borne a child to his father, Henry. These considerations, it would seem, overcame any objections which Sancho might feel; and Berengaria was entrusted to the care of Eleanor, under an engagement that she should be united to Richard, probably guarded by a formal treaty to that effect.

Such transactions could not be altogether kept secret; and Philip must have been aware of the

his son." This was in 1176, when Berengaria was about four years old, and her marriage to Richard had never even been dreamed of. The same author afterwards says, that "the Infanta was despatched by her father to the Isle of Cyprus, where she was received by her affianced husband." She was despatched, on the contrary, to Messina, under the charge of Eleanor; and at the time Richard was affianced to the Princess Adelais.

arrival of Eleanor and Berengaria, and suspicious of the intentions of Richard towards the latter. It was therefore a natural stratagem for a cunning and insincere prince, while denying a charge brought against himself, and established by authentic documents, to pronounce the letters a forgery on the part of his accuser, and suggest a motive for the crime. The step was bold, indeed, for the temper of the King of England was not one likely to endure so false a charge. Eager to wed Berengaria, however, Richard seems to have fixed his mind principally upon that part of the King of France's reply which referred to the marriage of Adelais; and he answered, that an union between himself and her was impossible, because she had borne a son to his father. The existence of this insuperable impediment he offered to prove, and did prove, by innumerable witnesses; and the prelates and nobles of both courts interfering, and representing the evils likely to ensue from dissension, both monarchs laid aside their causes of complaint, and a treaty was drawn up between Richard and Philip, which set the young monarch free from the ties that bound him to his father's concubine. The terms of this treaty are somewhat differently stated by various authors, but a copy is preserved in Rymer; and that given by Rigordus is as follows.*

* I give the version of Rigordus, both because his statement is precise as to the exact words of the treaty, of which he professes to give a copy, and because it varies in a curious

" In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Amen. Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French, to all men present and to come. Be it known that a solid peace has been established between us and our faithful friend and brother, Richard, illustrious King of England, who has sworn to observe the treaty of pacification, of which the conditions are as follows :—

" 1. Readily, and of our own full will, we permit the said King freely to marry whomsoever he pleases, notwithstanding the convention entered into between us relative to our sister Adelais, whom he was to have taken to wife.

" 2. Moreover, we cede to him and the heirs male, which may be born of him and his wife, and who

manner from some of the statements in the text of his history, though it is very nearly in the precise words of Rymer. We can only reconcile these differences by supposing that Rigordus, when speaking in his own person, alludes to previous proposals made by Philip, and rejected by Richard before the treaty was definitively settled. It is extraordinary, however, to find that the stipulations, according to the French account, are more favourable to Richard than according to that of the English historians. Hoveden states, that Richard promised on his return from the Holy Land to restore Gisors, the Norman Vexin, and some other territories, to the crown of France. The treaty in Rigordus and Rymer gives them to Richard and his wife, whomsoever he should marry, and to his heirs, with the sole reservation, that if he dies without a legitimate son, those territories should return to the Kings of France. This is the principal difference between the English and French historians, but there are various others of no great importance.

shall hold his land after him, Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, of St. Denis, and the Norman Vexin, with their appurtenances.

"3. On his part, it is agreed, that if he should happen to die without heirs male, born to his wife and to himself, Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, and the Norman Vexin, with their appurtenances, shall return direct to us and to our heirs male, born of our wife and of us.

"4. If we die without heirs male, born of our wife and of us, we will that Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, and the Norman Vexin, return to the domain of Normandy.

"5. If the King of England should have two heirs male, at least, it is agreed that the eldest should hold of us in capite, all that he ought to hold of us on this side of the English sea, and that the other shall hold of us in capite one of the three following baronies: the domain of Normandy, or that of Anjou and Maine, or that of Aquitaine and Poitou.

"6. On the other hand, the said King of England has given us ten thousand marks of silver, according to the weight of Trois, of which he shall pay to us, or to our order, at the approaching festival of All Saints, at Chaumont, the sum of three thousand marks, three thousand more on All Saints day following, at the third (All Saints day,) and the other two thousand on the fourth festival of All the Saints.

"7. Moreover, we have ordained, and do ordain, that for all the fiefs which his predecessors have

held of ours, he shall be our liegeman, as his predecessors have been to ours, and we have received him as liegeman for those fiefs.

" 8. On his part, he has ceded to us the feof of Issoudun and that of Graçai, with all their appurtenances, as well as all that he holds, or hopes to hold, in Auvergne, as fief or lordship.

"9. We have likewise ceded to him Cahors and the Quercy entire, with its appurtenances, except the two royal abbeys of Figeac and Souillac with their appurtenances, which are ours and remain ours.

" 10. He promises to take nothing more from the lands of the Count of St. Giles, except that which is stipulated above, so long as the said Count of St. Giles is willing and able to submit to justice in our court. But if the Count of St. Giles should fail to do justice in our court, we will thenceforth cease to defend the Count of St. Giles against the King of England, or at least, our aid shall not be compulsory.*

" 11. If the conditions of peace here above stipulated, be scrupulously observed, we will and agree that the King of England shall preserve in peace all the holdings, either in fief or in lordship, which he possessed on the day that he took the road to Jerusalem."

The clauses 12 and 13 are the usual clauses respecting hostages, but it is remarkable that the hostages given, are only on the part of France. By

* Here is a slight difference from the treaty in Rymer.

the fourteenth clause, the King of England promises to send back safe to France, within one month of his return from the Holy Land, the Princess Adelais, without delay or hesitation, and the fifteenth stipulates that he shall perform all those acts of feudal service required by tenures, which his ancestors before him had rendered to the Kings of France for the territories held of that crown. The whole is dated Messina, in the month of March, 1190.*

It is probable that the signature of this treaty was the last transaction between Richard and the French king, before the latter sailed from Messina, which took place on the 30th of March, if we are to believe the account of Vinesauf.† We find that Eleanor would not trust herself with Berengaria in Sicily, till her son was freed from his contract to Adelais; but the very same day that the King of France departed, the galleys of the queen-mother appeared in the port of the Sicilian city,‡

* According to our computation, March, 1191; for the French at this time either began the year on the 25th of March, or else on Easter-eve; and Easter-day having fallen that year on the 14th of April; the scribes of the French chancery probably did not commence the year 1191 till the 13th of that month. The practice, however, it must be remarked, varied much in the different provinces, creating great confusion in dates.

† He states, that the King of France set sail on the Saturday following the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which festival, in 1191, occurred on Monday, the 25th of March.

‡ Eleanor had not remained at Naples, but had traversed the whole peninsula to Brundusium, on what motive is not stated.

and three days of festivity and rejoicing followed, during which, however, Eleanor did not forget those political views which at all times engrossed a large portion of her attention. Softened and occupied by the presence of his bride, Richard easily consented to the measures proposed by his mother, the consequence of which I shall have to display hereafter; and having accomplished all her purposes, on the fourth day after her arrival at Messina, Eleanor bade her son adieu, leaving Berengaria under the protection of the Dowager Queen of Sicily, who proposed to accompany the English monarch to the Holy Land. On her departure, the politic Queen of England was accompanied by Walter, Archbishop of Rouen,* and she took her way through Italy, proposing to visit Rome, and to solicit the Pope to confirm the election of Geoffry, her husband's natural son by Rosamond Clifford, to the see of York; but Eleanor could scarcely have reached the Italian shore, ere death removed from the busy scene in which he had acted, Pope Clement III., who during his short reign had added but little to the dignity or power of the holy see.

* The character of the Archbishop of Rouen was viewed very differently by different historians. The laudatory Vinesauf calls him, with his barbarous grandiloquence, "Vir magnarum virtutum," but the more sarcastic monk of Winchester, known to us as Richard of Devizes, gives as one of the Archbishop's reasons for returning to England, "quia, ut clericorum est, pusillanimis erat et pavidus."

The motives of the conduct, both of Richard and Eleanor at this period, are very obscure; and it is, perhaps, the preferable course to leave them without attempting explanation, rather than to suggest causes from the very insufficient lights we have, when we know that many circumstances, of no magnitude in themselves, affect the actions of monarchs and the conduct of states, and, being left unnoticed by contemporaries, frequently lead historians at an after period to attribute to much more important sources, the actions which originated in caprice, or passion, or accident. Why Eleanor crossed the whole of the Peninsula of Italy to Brundusium, why she visited Rome, why the marriage of Berengaria with Richard was not celebrated in Sicily, and why he lingered in that country ten days after the departure of his rival in glory and power for the coast of Palestine, are questions which have not been explained by those who accompanied him, or those who recorded his actions at a distance; nor am I disposed to imagine motives where I cannot discover causes.

Some of the French historians have declared, that Richard remained long in Sicily, aiding Tancred in his wars, and others, that he was induced to linger behind the King of France by the pleasures of the Sicilian court, and for the gratification of his own libidinous propensities. It is only necessary to say, that there is not the slightest authority whatsoever for this last accusation, and that Richard never un-

sheathed his sword for Tancred during the whole of his long stay in Sicily.*

* The words of M. Capefigue are as follow: "Le roi des Anglais était demeuré à Messine long-temps après le départ de Philippe. Le séjour délicieux de la Sicile avait inspiré une douce mollesse aux prélats et aux barons. Ils vivaient au milieu des plaisirs de Palerme et de Messine, et la cour de Tancrède leur faisait oublier le saint tombeau. Richard, surtout, se faisait remarquer par son ardente galanterie. Il ne distinguait ni le rang ni la religion. On l'avait plusieurs fois surpris avec des Juives et des Sarrasines dans les montagnes de la Sicile. Lorsqu'on voulait lui addresser des reproches, il rappelait que les conciles n'avient défendu d'avoir des femmes étrangères que durant le pélérinage, et que le séjour de la Sicile n'etait point compris dans le voyage aux saints lieux. Pour faire cesser ce grand scandale, l'hermite Joachim sortit encore une fois des grottes de la Calabre, afin de rappeler aux pélerins les malheurs de Jérusalem et les promesses qu'ils avaient faites de conquérir sa délivrance.[1]

"Un phénomène céleste, qui parla vivement à l'imagination des croisés, vint seconder les pieuses exhortations du solitaire: cette année on entendit de grands coups de tonnerre dans la Sicile, la foudre frappa un des navires du roi, et renversa une partie des murs de Messine; les chevaliers et les servans d'armes qui étaient dans le monastère du Griffon, où se trouvaient les tresors des Anglais, virent un globe de feu sur le sommet de l'eglise; il jetait une brillante clarté, mais ne brûlait pas; il ne disparut que lorsque la tempête cessa.[2]

"Ces phénomènes, auxquels les pélerins étaient peu habitués, appelèrent des idées de pénitence. Aux scènes de plaisirs et de débauche succéda tout à coup un spectacle de repentir et

[1] Bromton, Chroniq., ad. ann. 1191.

[2] Ibid.

Moved by a strong passion, Richard had shown himself, while in England, greedy and grasping, extorting money from all hands for the purposes of

de contrition; Richard, surtout, manifesta la plus profonde douleur de ses fautes: 'Dieu le regarda des yeux de sa misericorde;' il convoqua tous les évêques et archevêques; le roi se présenta à eux nu-pieds, portant dans sa main un paquet de *verges flexibles.* Il ne rougit pas de confesser la honte de ses péchés, il les abjura, et reçut des dits évêques la *pénitence convènable.* Depuis ce moment il fut aimant Dieu, sans revenir jamais à son iniquité. Heureux celui qui tombe pour se relever ainsi plus fort et mieux pénitencié."

Whether there be any edition of Bromton in which the particulars referred to by M. Capefigue have been interpolated, I do not know, but certainly no such statements exist in the copy of that author contained in the Scriptores Decem, under the year 1191, but the direct reverse; for Bromton says, "Quippe rex Anglorum qui in hiemali ocio ociosus non fuerat, sed in necessariis exercitui congerendis et machinis bellicis conficiendis tempus imbelle impenderat, *cito* post regis Francorum profectionem eodem mense Aprilis * * * * à portu Messanæ recessit."[1]

Even had Bromton made such statements, it would be necessary to remember that he was not a contemporary; but there is not only this objection to be urged against the use which the French historian has made of some parts of Bromton's account in the passage of the history of Philip Augustus quoted above. Another very serious error is, that even the facts which are really to be found in Bromton, are placed out of their right chronological order, so as to make it appear that Richard lingered at Messina, passing his time in debauchery, long after Philip had sailed from that port. Philip quitted Messina at the end of March, 1191, and it is after that period that M. Capefigue

[1] Bromton, Col. 1197.

the Crusade; but in Sicily he appears quite in a different character, liberal to profusion, and generous even to those whose conduct had given him cause

places the debaucheries he attributes to Richard and his army, his supposed second appearance of the Abbot Joachim, the meteoric phenomenon which surprised the crusaders, and the confession, repentance, and penitence of Richard, which he puts as a consequence of the phenomenon. Now, every one of these facts is placed out of its natural position. Bromton himself states, that the appearance of the ball of fire took place in the month of December, 1190, in which he follows Hoveden, who says, on the nineteenth of December, (XIV Kalends. Januar.) He places the penance of Richard in the same year, 1190, so that both these events must have taken place fully three months before the departure of Philip. It is next necessary to ascertain how long Richard did really linger in Sicily after Philip had sailed. Bromton gives us no information, merely saying, that the English monarch followed quickly after Philip: Hoveden says that the king left Messina for Palestine on the Wednesday before Good Friday, otherwise the tenth of April, ten days after Philip: Vinesauf says, seventeen days after the King of France's departure, the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, which would place the day of Philip's sailing seven days earlier than he states it in another place. The contemporary French historians themselves do not accuse Richard of lingering long; William the Breton positively states that he did not, and Rigordus gives no information. Diceto says he sailed on the fourth Ides of April, confirming the account of Hoveden. Thus the utmost period of his stay was from ten to seventeen days, and I feel much inclined to believe that the words "*Septimo decimo*," in Vinesauf, are a typographical mistake, as he evidently contradicts himself; and his first statement of the day of Philip's departure is in accordance with that of all other authors.

for suspicion, if not for enmity. Previous to Philip's departure for Acre, the English monarch bestowed upon his treacherous ally several large vessels and galleys to supply the place of those which had been lost or damaged by tempests.* To the nobles of the French court, also, he was prodigal of gifts; and the crusaders of his own dominions, many of whom had spent or lost all they had brought with them, found a ready and acceptable supply in the treasury of the monarch. The virtues and the vices of the chivalrous character had all been displayed by Richard during his residence at Messina, and hard disputes, eager negotiations, violent military enterprises, and magnificent festivities† had chequered his intercourse with the people of the island and with his fellow crusaders. Nevertheless, it would appear that Richard had risen in the estimation of the Sicilians. His prowess and his power had daunted, his wealth and his magnificence surprised them, his firmness and vigour had won their respect, and his liberality conciliated their regard. Thus, from all accounts, the people of Messina were loud in their expressions of admiration,

* Hoveden. Bromton.

† Vinesauf gives a long and interesting account of a splendid entertainment offered by Richard to the King of France and his court. If we are to believe that historian, nothing was to be seen but gold and silver, and vessels elaborately chased, and ornamented with gems. Many of these were in the forms of men and animals.

when, at length, his navy prepared to take the seas, and Richard ended his residence amongst them by an act which tended to atone, if not to obliterate, some of his more harsh proceedings, and caused the fortress which he had erected for the purpose of overawing Messina to be demolished by the hands that raised it. He sailed from that port on the tenth of April, 1191, on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, and, with a favourable wind, took his course towards the shores of Palestine.

[*Note*, see page 39.]—Little is accurately known of the early history of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England. The best account of him that I have met with is in the Archæologia, vol. xxvii. p. 112; but I am inclined to believe that even here there is an error, although I am not prepared to state positively that such is the case. It would appear that Longchamp was the son of an agricultural labourer in Normandy; the steps by which he first rose so as to be preferred to the service of a prince are unknown; but we find that he was attached to the household of a son of Henry II. named Geoffrey. The writer in the Archæologia concludes that this was the natural son of that king by Rosamond Clifford, but it is by no means probable that such should be the case; for, from the Geoffrey here mentioned, he went at once into the service of Richard before his accession, and remained attached to him, receiving, one by one, the highest honours the king could give. Now, no intimacy, but on the contrary, hostility, existed between Richard and Geoffrey, afterwards Archbishop of York, at least during the latter years of the reign of Henry II., and therefore it was not likely that the Count of Poitou should receive an officer into his closest confidence at that brother's recommendation. On the other hand, the greatest affec-

tion, with very little interruption, subsisted between Richard and his brother Geoffrey Plantagenet, the father of Arthur. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that at Geoffrey's death, in Paris, one of his attached friends and faithful servants should be transferred to Richard's household. At all events, Longchamp rose rapidly in the esteem of Richard, and at or before the death of Henry, he was created the young prince's private chancellor. A charter is cited in favour of Gerard de Camville, signed at Barfleur, as Richard, after his father's death, was proceeding to England for his coronation. It is authenticated in a curious manner, "per manum Wilhelmi *Cancellarii mei*," showing that at this time the monarchs of England did not take the style and title of king till after their coronation. It has been sufficiently established by Sir Harris Nicolas, that the reign of the early Kings of England after the Conquest did not commence *de facto* on the death or deposition of the preceding monarch, and generally not till the coronation of his successor. Sir Harris Nicolas traces this back to the reign of John, and rightly presumes that the custom was of still earlier date. Thus we find Richard, after his father's death, does not use the words "*Our Chancellor*" as he would have done had he considered himself *de facto* king, upon his father's death, but he uses the simple words which he probably employed before, "My Chancellor." In page 278, vol. iii. of this work, I have shown, from Diceto, that a form of election, different from the ordinary form of presenting the sovereign to the people at the present day, was practised at the coronation of Richard; and there can be no doubt that such a ceremony gave additional solemnity to the compact between the monarch and his subjects. It was an acknowledgment, in fact, that his rights were derived from them, and that his title was neither founded in right of conquest, nor in the still more questionable right divine. I may add, that almost all the contemporary historians, especially those who noted the facts of the day as they occurred, call Richard merely Duke of Normandy, from the time

of his father's death to the day of his coronation. Though some continue to call him Count of Poitou, yet the fact that many and the best informed chroniclers give him the title of Duke of Normandy, which he did not possess till Henry's death, and withhold the title of King of England till after his coronation, is not without its value.

BOOK XV.

THE magnificent fleet of the King of England, when it quitted the shores of Sicily, called forth expressions of wonder and pride from all the English contemporary writers who either witnessed its departure or heard its fame in distant lands; but it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of vessels which it comprised. Hoveden assures us that Richard was accompanied by a hundred and fifty large ships, and fifty-three galleys; but the account of Richard of Devizes, who seems to have paid particular attention to the naval affairs of his time, is somewhat different. That author only specifies the number of ships in seven of the divisions of Richard's fleet, making in all one hundred and eighty; but he adds, "in the last division followed the king, with his own galleys." The order and arrangement of the ships and of their several divisions, at the time they sailed from Messina, were such that, from one squadron to another, the sound of a trumpet could be heard,

and from one ship to another the voice of a man was audible.* The three leading vessels, it would appear, were of the largest class of that day, and of the kind called *Dromones*, which was furnished with towers raised upon the deck, for the purpose of showering missiles into an enemy's ship. In one of these, Joan, Queen of Sicily, and the fair Berengaria, took their passage, while Richard himself brought up the rear in another vessel. The king's treasure was also contained in one of the *dromones;* and the first division was under the command of Robert of Torneham, a celebrated knight, who was aided by a number of distinguished officers, and furnished with sufficient forces for the defence of his ships. All seemed favourable for the progress of the royal armament; and during the first few days nothing occurred to cloud Richard's hopes and expectations but the gradual subsidence of the wind, which forced him to anchor upon the coast of Calabria, where he remained becalmed till Good Friday. On that day, however, one of those storms to which the Mediterranean is occasionally subject, assailed the English fleet, and forced the monarch to put to sea, to escape the dangers of an unknown and rocky coast. This measure of precaution, it would appear, however, was not taken till the wind, which had become adverse, returned into a more favourable

* Richard of Devizes. Vinesauf marks that, by Richard's order, the lighter and swifter ships were delayed for the heavier vessels.

quarter; but the tempest still continued, so that the order of the fleet was entirely lost, and the vessels dispersed in all directions. Terror, confusion, and sea-sickness spread amongst the military pilgrims; but the king himself never lost his presence of mind, nor ceased to encourage his men, and exhort them to patience and perseverance. Displaying an immense lantern during the night, to guide the other ships, the royal vessel now led the way, and, running before the wind, reached the shores of Crete on the Wednesday after Easter Sunday. There Richard anchored, and landed, looking anxiously for the appearance of the rest of his fleet. A great number did not appear; and on the Thursday, in the midst of another tempest, the English monarch sailed for Rhodes. At first no port was to be found, and the storm continuing, the fleet was in great danger till the Monday following, when Richard landed in the island. Here the king also waited for several days, in the hope of being joined by the vessels which had been dispersed. Several, however, were still missing, when Richard again set sail from Rhodes; and it is probable that the monarch had by this time learned the fate of that squadron of his fleet, with which was the great vessel containing his sister and his bride.* It would appear that the fleet was again

* Vinesauf does not particularly mention this fact, but he states that Richard inquired anxiously in regard to the character of Isaac, called Emperor of Cyprus; and Hoveden tells us that

delayed by tempests, but at length, with a more favourable wind, it made its way towards Cyprus, meeting on the voyage a large ship from Acre, and receiving intelligence of the arrival of the French king before that city. On the fifth of May, Richard himself anchored off Limesol, and was speedily informed of events which might well raise the utmost fury in his quick and impetuous spirit.

Several of the largest vessels which had set sail with the king from Messina had been driven by the tempest to the coast of Cyprus, and three* of them had been wrecked upon its inhospitable shore, not far from the port of Limisso, or Limesol. Many of the distinguished crusaders perished in the shipwrecked vessels, and, amongst the rest, Roger de Malus-catulus, or Mauchael, the keeper of the king's seal,† which it would appear was suspended round his neck at the time of his death. A much greater number, however, reached the land alive, but were

he sent galleys to seek for the vessel of the two queens, which was found anchored off the shores of Cyprus.

* Vinesauf says, three; Richard of Devizes only names two, and states distinctly that the two large vessels which, together with that of the queens, formed the advance guard of Richard's fleet, were separated from the other squadrons by the tempest, and driven to Cyprus.

† Berrington erroneously calls him the chancellor. Hoveden more properly calls him vice-chancellor; and Vinesauf accurately, "regis sigillifer." His name is written variously. Sometimes Malus-catulus in one part of a charter, and Mauchael in another. This is probably the origin of the name, Machel.

almost immediately attacked by the people of the island, by whom several of them were slain, while the rest were driven into a castle or church,* in the neighbourhood of Limesol, after having been despoiled of their arms and property of all kinds. A few, indeed, contrived to carry in with them their bows and daggers, which proved their salvation, for the Cypriots kept a strict watch upon them, and not only neglected to supply them with necessary food, but actually seized that which was sent on shore by the commander of one of the other ships, applying it to their own use, and leaving their prisoners to perish of hunger. In these circumstances the crusaders resolved rather to die in the field than within the walls of the castle. They consequently issued forth, and, aided, it would seem, by a few men from the queens' ship, dispersed their enemies, and made their way to the gates of Limesol.

Information having been given to the emperor of all that had taken place, he hastened from the interior to negotiate with the gallant strangers who had been cast upon his inhospitable island. Affecting kindness and liberality, and excusing the conduct of his subjects, on the plea of their uncivilized condition and little intercourse with strangers, the wily Greek seduced the shipwrecked

* Richard of Devizes says, "in quandam ecclesiam." Vinesauf gives a different account, does not speak of the slaughter, but says, "sub prætextu pacis admiserunt gaudentes indigenæ, et tanquam compatientes eorum infortunio, deduxerunt in quoddam, castellum vicinum reficiendos."

crusaders into Limesol, and there, in a position where their few bows could be of no service, and the use of their daggers could only end in their own destruction, he made them all prisoners. The craft of the house of Comnenus found a worthy representative in the Cyprian emperor; and he proceeded immediately to deal in the same spirit with the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria.

Shattered by tempests, and in a very unsafe condition, the vessel of the princesses still lay off the port, though the winds had but little abated, and the seas were by no means calm. We are informed by Vinesauf, that the emperor used every artful device in order to lure Joan and Berengaria into the city; sending them presents of wine and fresh provisions, and giving them the most solemn assurance of safety and protection. During three days he never ceased his solicitations, collecting in the meanwhile all the forces of his empire in the neighbourhood of Limesol. The commanders of the royal ship, however, had by this time heard of the fate of their companions on shore, and had perhaps also received intelligence that a large army was assembling near the city. On every side the position of the princesses was dangerous: their vessel could not put to sea, in its shattered condition; if they trusted themselves in the hands of the fraudulent Greek, there was every probability of their being immediately imprisoned, to wait as hostages for Richard's arrival; if they positively refused to land, they were likely

to be attacked in the roads by the vessels of Cyprus. To delay as long as possible a definitive answer was the safest course they could adopt; and they accordingly suffered Isaac to entertain some expectation of their landing in a few days, in the hope of the King of England's appearance, although they were at this time utterly ignorant of what had become of the monarch and his fleet.* As day after day passed by, however, their terror and anxiety increased to the highest point; but at length, on the Sunday after their arrival, two ships were seen sailing direct towards the harbour, and shortly after a multitude of large vessels and galleys came in sight, leaving no doubt that the long-expected succour was at hand.

On the evening of the same day, Richard anchored before Limesol, and was made fully aware of the treatment his subjects had received. His conduct upon this occasion was much more moderate than might have been expected from his character. That he was greatly enraged there can be no doubt; but every contemporary declares that the message which he sent to Isaac was mild and pacific. He besought him, for the love of God and the honour of the holy Cross, to set his men at liberty, and to restore the

* It is very generally stated that Isaac positively refused to suffer the princesses to land, (see Berrington, p. 380, where he calls Isaac a discourteous savage for this offence; and Mills, vol. ii. p. 100.) That account is taken from Hoveden; but as Vinesauf was certainly present, I have preferred his statement, which is much more consistent with the character of the Greek.

arms and goods of which he had plundered them.* In league with the Mahommedan princes,† the emperor returned a bold and insolent answer; he not only refused to liberate his prisoners, and to restore the property he had taken, but he threatened the king with the same fate as those who had preceded him, if he ventured to land on the island.‡

The patience of Richard now gave way, and commanding his land forces to arm, he prepared to make a descent upon the coast in the boats of his fleet, while some of the galleys were ordered to force the port, which, as well as the city, had been carefully fortified to resist the anticipated attack. Richard himself, with a large number of archers and crossbow-men, led the first division of his flotilla; but the Cypriots were not unskilful in the use of the bow, and the whole shore was lined

* Hoveden says the king sent three times; but all accounts show that the answer of Isaac was insolent in the highest extreme. Vinesauf puts in his mouth an expression, the meaning of which I do not know, "*Ptruht sire;*" and old Langtoft gives a part of his reply in these words: "*And what haf I to do with Inglis tayled kyng?*" The sarcastic expression of *caudatos* was frequently applied to the English by other nations. Some writers have supposed that this accusation originated in one of the old legends of the Roman church, which describes St. Augustine as being offended by the men of Kent, and inflicting tails upon them as a punishment.

† Both from the statements of the Christian chroniclers and from the Arabian compilation, called "The Two Gardens," we find that Isaac was closely leagued with Saladin.

‡ Bromton.

with the emperor's forces, glittering in splendid armour, and displaying in their garments and banners all the brilliant colours of the East. As the boats approached, the flights of arrows are said, in the common term, to have darkened the air, and so heavily did they fall in the ranks of the crusaders, that Vinesauf admits the hardy warriors of Richard were little inclined to land. The English galleys, however, had by this time overcome those of the enemy, and the king, remarking the hesitation of his troops, sprang from his barge into the sea, and hewed down the first of the enemy that fell by the sword.* Animated by his example, the knights and nobles poured forth from their boats, and after a brief struggle, the Cypriot troops gave way in every direction. Richard and his army pursued without an instant's delay, and drove the flying squadrons through the city,† and thence into the open fields beyond. The tremendous flights of the English and Norman arrows fell thick amongst the crowded fugitives; the sword raged in their rear; and Richard, in his element amidst the strife, caught a stray horse, and springing on its back, shouted after the flying Isaac

* Richard of Devizes. Vinesauf.

† In the little history of Richard which I have before mentioned, we are told that the Cypriots were first driven into the town of Limesol, where they endeavoured to maintain themselves, but the gates were speedily burst open. I find no mention anywhere amongst contemporaries of any resistance in the town.

with a laugh :. "Come back, my lord emperor, and try your prowess with me in single combat." The derisive words of the English king, however, only served to hasten the flight of the Greek ; and darkness approaching, Richard did not venture to pursue his adversaries into the hills, the passes of which were unknown to any one in his host. Returning into Limesol, he caused his sister and his bride to be brought on shore the same evening, and they passed the night, in security and rejoicing, in the midst of the monarch's victorious army.*

At the distance of about two leagues from Limesol, the emperor and his army halted in their flight, and began to take courage, remembering that, as far as they had seen, the King of England had no horses with him ; but early the next morning, after having passed the night under canvas on the shore, Richard caused the chargers of his cavalry to be disembarked, in order to pursue the advantage he had already gained, and about three o'clock† mounted

* For the account of these events the reader may compare Vinesauf, Hoveden, the Abbot of Peterborough, and Richard of Devizes, from each of whom I have borrowed something. William of Newbury adds nothing, his statements being exceedingly brief.

† I am uncertain of the exact time which Vinesauf means to imply. He says, "*circa horam nonam ;*" but authors at this period differed much in the divisions of the day. *Nona*, or *nones*, not unfrequently meant noon or midday ; but then again, it commenced about two or three o'clock, according to the divisions of the day by the church ; and I am inclined to believe

to explore the neighbouring country. At no great distance, in an olive-wood by the side of the road, he found a body of armed Greeks, who instantly took flight, and were pursued by the monarch. Richard's horses, however, were fatigued and debilitated by a long sea voyage, and not above fifty were found capable of following the king on his rapid course. With these he galloped on, till, reaching the top of a hill, he beheld the camp of the emperor in a valley beneath him, and he paused to observe the fine military spectacle still displayed by the Cypriot army, notwithstanding the defeat of the day before. At the same time the small body of crusaders was seen by the host below, and the shouts and cries and trumpets of the troops having roused the emperor from sleep, he instantly mounted his horse, and advanced up the hill at the head of his forces, as if determined to give battle. The bows and slings of the enemy were already plying the little band upon the hill, when a certain clerk, named Hugo de Mara, who had put on harness, like many of his brethren, rode up to the king, and remonstrated with him on

that Vinesauf intended to say that Richard mounted about that time, as the number of horses necessary for a large body of cavalry could not be very speedily disembarked in those days. It may be as well to remark, that a modern author has stated that the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria did not land till the day after the first victory of the king, but that Vinesauf does not imply anything of the kind, and that Hoveden says the direct reverse: "Eodem die post victoriam regis Angliæ."

the rashness of attempting to fight with such a disparity of numbers. "Master Clerk," replied the monarch, "we each understand our own business: meddle with your Scriptures; leave to us military matters, and do not trouble us farther."

Several others, however, attempted to dissuade the king from the combat; but convinced, by the events of the preceding day, of the enemy's cowardice, and confident in his own prowess, Richard spurred on his horse against the host of the emperor, and, followed by his little troop, cut straight through the adverse ranks sword in hand, spreading terror, confusion, and flight wherever he came. The multitude were routed by a handful; those who had swift horses, made their escape, but an immense number of the foot soldiers and the badly mounted cavalry were killed or taken.

Isaac himself, it would appear, upon this occasion, showed more courage than his followers; for he remained, we are told, exhorting his men to fight, till he was charged with the lance by Richard himself, and his horse was killed under him. He was immediately mounted upon another charger; but his experience of the valour of the English king did not induce him to linger upon the field any longer; and he fled with the rest, leaving the ground covered with the dead and dying, shields, helmets, swords, lances, banners, and ensigns cast away: nor did he stop in his flight till he had reached the shelter of the neighbouring mountains. The remainder of

Richard's forces coming up at the close of the battle, if battle it could be called, pursued the fugitives for two miles, and then returned to satiate themselves with the spoil of the imperial camp. The booty was immense, in arms, garments, treasure, flocks, herds, wine, and every sort of provision, and an infinite number of captives graced Richard's triumphal return to Limesol.

The same day, in a wise and generous spirit, the monarch caused public proclamation to be made, that all the peaceable inhabitants of Cyprus might come and go whithersoever they pleased, without peril or offence from his troops, and that he would severely punish any one who injured them. This conduct, it would appear, had much effect upon the people of the island, who, there is every reason to believe, had been subjected to great oppression by the emperor. Abundance of provisions of the most delicate kind and excellent quality was brought into the camp; the crusaders rejoiced in the rich wine of Cyprus; and the excellence of the corn; the oil, the meat, and the poultry, drew forth delighted exclamations from the sea-worn and hungry chronicler of the Crusade. On the following day, more important indications still of the desire of the islanders to cultivate the friendship of the English monarch appeared, in the visits of several of the nobles of the land, who, we are assured, did homage to him, and swore to assist him against the emperor and all men.*

* Bromton.

On the Saturday following, while engaged in preparation for his nuptials with Berengaria, which he had resolved to celebrate at Limesol, Richard received intimation that three galleys had been perceived at sea, steering direct towards the island, and going forth in a boat with little parade, he proceeded in person to inquire who were the new visitors that approached the shores of Cyprus. He found that the galleys were those of Guy of Lusignan, who was anxiously seeking him, for the purpose of obtaining his advice and support amidst the factions which had risen up in his desolated territory. Without making himself known, it would appear, Richard returned in haste to the port, and ordered a sumptuous repast to be prepared for the coming guests.

The King of Jerusalem was received with every mark of reverence and amity, and in the course of his conferences with Richard related events which I shall have to notice in their order more particularly hereafter, and which had a great influence on the relations between the English monarch and the King of France. Lusignan seems to have gained very rapidly the regard and confidence of the King of England, and with a liberal hand Richard opened his treasures to him, and supplied him with money, of which he stood in great need. On the Sunday following that monarch's arrival, the marriage of Berengaria to her royal lover, and her coronation as Queen of England, took place in the presence of a number of prelates and nobles; and the same day,

as if to fill up the cup of satisfaction, all the vessels of the English fleet which had been missing, reached the shores of Cyprus.

The beauty and fertility of the island which he had partly conquered, the apparent willingness of the inhabitants to submit to his rule, and the serious offences of the tyrant Isaac, had induced the English king to determine upon completing the subjugation of Cyprus, and he was preparing to execute this intention, when, by the intervention of some of the nobles of the land, and, it would appear, of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, negotiations were opened between Richard and the Emperor, who expressed sorrow for the acts he had committed, and proposed a voluntary submission and atonement. A meeting was appointed between the two princes, in a plain not far from Limesol, and upon this occasion we have the most perfect description of the dress and personal appearance of the lion-hearted monarch which has come down to our times.

Richard, clothed in his royal robes, proceeded to the conference, riding a magnificent horse of Spanish race, all glittering with trappings ornamented with jewels and gold. The beauty of the charger, we are told, no pen could describe nor limner paint: he champed his golden bit, and seemed indignant at being restrained from putting forth the rapid powers which his limbs displayed. The tunic of the king was of rose-coloured satin, and

his mantle was striped with straight lines of silver half-moons, and spotted with small shining orbs, compared by the historian to the solar system. On his feet were spurs of gold, and on his head a scarlet cap or hood, embroidered in gold with figures of birds and beasts, and by his side, in a belt of silk, hung his golden-hilted sword in a silver scabbard. In his hand he carried his leading-staff, as if about to command his army in battle, and thus accoutred, he rode slowly forth to meet the subtle descendant of the Comneni.

After long discussions, Isaac offered to hold his dominions as a vassal of the king; to give up to the custody of the English monarch all the strong places of his dominions, and to lead a body of troops to the Holy Land, to serve in its defence under Richard's command. Moreover, he offered to pay a large sum of money, as compensation for the goods of the crusaders who had been plundered by his subjects. On the other part, Richard promised, if Isaac and the force he was to bring into the field, served him faithfully in the Crusade, to restore to him his dominions and the fortresses which were ceded for the time. All these particulars having been agreed upon, the two monarchs embraced, and swore to observe the terms of the treaty; and Richard, on his return to Limésol, sent back to the emperor the tents which had been taken by the crusaders some days before,

together with all the plate which had been found therein.*

In the middle of the night, however, either regretting the humiliating convention he had entered into, or alarmed for his personal safety, Isaac mounted a horse, and fled at full speed to Famagusta. He afterwards attempted to excuse the act, by declaring that a certain knight, named Pagan de Cayphas, had assured him that it was Richard's intention to cast him into prison; but

* The whole of this account is taken from Vinesauf, who was present; but in one passage which seemed somewhat obscure, "*se juraturum obtulit imperator fidelem fore regi per omnia,*" I have been guided by Hoveden and Bromton, who express the sense of the emperor's offer more clearly. Hoveden says, he became "*homo regis Angliæ;*" and Bromton says, that Isaac swore fidelity to Richard and his heirs, "*sicut ligio domino suo contra omnes homines.*" I must remark, however, that both Hoveden and Bromton state the terms of Isaac's submission very differently from Vinesauf, who seems to have written them down carelessly from recollection, and their account explains several things which the other leaves in obscurity. They say, that the sum to be paid by Isaac was twenty thousand marks of gold; that the emperor promised immediately to liberate the shipwrecked crusaders; to hold his empire of the English king for ever, and not to retire from his army till all the terms were fulfilled. Hoveden says further, that he agreed to give his only daughter as a hostage; and Bromton adds, that Richard was to be at liberty to give her in marriage, as his ward, to whomsoever he pleased. It would seem, also, from the account of these two authors, that the King of England, fearful of treachery, had taken especial pains to stipulate that Isaac should not retire from his court.

Richard, seeing in his conduct not only a breach of the oath he had just taken, but an indication of further treachery, immediately prepared to pursue him, and to bring the whole island under his own dominion. Leaving the King of Jerusalem to lead the greater part of his land forces* to the attack of Famagusta, Richard put to sea in his galleys; and dividing them into two parts, in order to place all the ports of the island in a state of blockade, he took the command of one division, and left the other to the guidance of Robert de Torneham.† After having used every precaution to prevent the monarch's escape, Richard himself entered the harbour of Famagusta nearly at the same time that Guy of Lusignan approached it by land, but the place was found deserted. Notwithstanding its great strength, which was proved by the long siege it afterwards sustained against the Turks, Isaac did not venture to wait in Famagusta the attack of the English king, but fled into the woods and fastnesses of the interior, taking his

* Hoveden asserts positively that, not contented with flying, Isaac sent to inform Richard that he would keep no peace with him for the future.

† Hoveden; Bromton. These two authors explain Vinesauf, who merely says that the king committed his land army to Guy of Lusignan, and went himself by sea to Famagusta, giving strict orders that the ports should be watched, lest the emperor should escape him. No foundation for the assertion that Richard had only four galleys with him, is to be found in any contemporary historian that I have met with.

course towards Nicosia. Probably unable to obtain intelligence of Isaac's movements, and satisfied that the ports of Cyprus were well guarded by his galleys, Richard remained for three days at Famagusta, and was there visited by envoys from the King of France, who had already been some time before Acre. It is probable that the message of Philip was courteous, and that in moderate and gentle terms he pressed Richard to abandon his enterprise against the Emperor of Cyprus, and hasten to aid in the siege of Acre; but we are assured that the envoys, not finding the King of England prepared to accompany them at once, added a great number of insolent and contumelious expressions, which raised the monarch's wrath to a very high degree.

Richard, indignant, returned a haughty answer, and subsequently marched for Nicosia, where it was supposed Isaac had found refuge. In the neighbourhood of that city the emperor once more appeared in arms, and the King of England again charged him with the lance; but the Greek still contrived to escape, and betook himself to an almost inaccessible fortress, called Candaria. Nicosia fell at once, the inhabitants receiving Richard with apparent joy as their lord and master. The only act of sovereignty which he thought fit to exercise was one of no great severity, indeed, but which probably mortified the citizens of Nicosia not a little. He commanded them to shave off their

beards,* in token of having passed under the rule of a new lord; but this indignity was not followed by any bad consequences, and we find that every day the nobles and people of Cyprus came in crowds to offer submission, and do homage to the conqueror.†

The progress of the enemy, and the falling away of the vassals and subjects over whom he had tyrannized, enraged the emperor to the highest degree; and whenever an unfortunate crusader strayed from the army and was taken, he either put out his eyes, cut off his nose, or mutilated his hands or feet. A short fit of sickness detained Richard in Nicosia for some time, but in the meanwhile his forces captured three strong places, in one of which, called Chermias, the well-beloved daughter, and only child of the emperor, was taken, as well as the immense treasure which he had amassed. Hitherto Isaac had resisted all the persuasions which were addressed to him by his friends, to make some effort towards obtaining terms from Richard; and on one occasion, when such advice was offered him at dinner, he had struck with a knife the nobleman who spoke, ordering his nose to be cut off upon the spot. The capture of his daughter, however, and the loss of all his treasure, plunged him at once into despair; and after sending envoys to mitigate the anger of the king, who still lay ill at Nicosia, he came down in person from his mountain fortress,

* Vinesauf. † Hoveden.

and with a dejected countenance and mourning garments, cast himself at the feet of the conqueror, only entreating that he might not be fettered with chains of iron. Pity, anger, and contempt, all seemed to mingle in Richard's feelings, and to affect his conduct. He raised the suppliant from the ground, he placed his daughter in his arms, but he kept him in perpetual captivity, and, with a biting sarcasm, ordered his chains to be of silver, in consideration of his elevated birth.*

The whole island submitted, the nobles did homage to the King of England, the towns, fortresses, and castles, opened their gates to him, and the immense treasures, collected by Isaac from an oppressed people, fell into the conqueror's hands. The catalogue of riches is vast, displaying a number of curious items, such as saddles and bits of gold, with gems and precious stones, many of which, we are assured, possessed peculiar virtues. In fifteen days the complete dominion of Cyprus was obtained, and Richard returned to Limesol to prepare for his departure. The daughter of the fallen emperor he gave into the charge of Berengaria, "to cherish and

* "Et cum in manu et potestate regis omnia jam essent à rege solum petiit, ne in compedibus et manicis ferreis permitteret eum poni. . . . . Rex vero petitionem ejus audiens ait, Quia nobilis est et nolumus eum mori, sed ut vivat innoxius, cathenis argenteis astringatur."—Bromton, col. 1200. Hoveden mentions the same facts, in other words, and William of Newbury confirms them.

instruct;"* but the disposal of his island conquest was a more difficult question than that of providing for the child of his fallen adversary. To preserve it was important in every point of view, especially during the siege of Acre; for as the Mahommedan forces were in possession of a great part of Palestine, the supply of provisions for the Christian army was at all times scanty and uncertain. The fertility and great resources of Cyprus, which, under Isaac, had never been available to the crusaders in Syria, were now at the disposal of Richard; and Vinesauf assures us that the king placed in authority in the island warlike and industrious governors, who afterwards continued to furnish him with abundant supplies. Hoveden informs us that these governors were Richard de Camville and Robert de Torneham, but there is some confusion in the statements of contemporaries in regard to these facts.†

In making all these arrangements, and preparing for sea, Richard passed a short time at Limesol,

* I will not perpetuate an idle scandal respecting the emperor's daughter and Richard, which has been repeated, if not invented, by modern authors, who should have known and felt better. She was at this time a child. Vinesauf, who saw her, calls her "juvencula parvula;" words which are not to be mistaken.

† Bernard, the treasurer, in his continuation of William of Tyre, declares that when the king had conquered Cyprus, he offered to give it to the Knights of the Temple, but they refused to receive it, undertaking, however, to guard it.

receiving every day fresh proofs of the admiration which his valour and conduct had excited in the Cypriots. He granted to them, at their urgent request, as a perpetual code, the laws and ordinances which had been in use in the island in the reign of the Emperor Manuel. The price they paid for this concession was somewhat high, if we may trust to the account of Hoveden and Bromton, extending to not less than one-half of their goods. It would seem, indeed, that this was a free gift, and not, as Mills has erroneously stated, the produce of a tax levied by the English monarch; nor can we suppose that the amount was very large, for the oppressive hand of Isaac had already wrung from them the greater part of their moveable wealth: their fertile land, which was not included in the gift, was their principal property, and it is therefore probable that but little more than half of one year's produce made up the amount of their offering to the English king.

During Richard's residence in the island, the body of Roger de Maucatell was washed on shore by the waves, and the king's privy seal was recovered. What became of the shipwrecked soldiers who had been imprisoned by Isaac, is not distinctly stated, though there is some ground for the suspicion that several of them had been assassinated in prison. The emperor himself was sent, in his silver chains, to Tripoli, where he remained a prisoner till death ended the misfortunes which fell upon the latter portion of a turbulent and active life.

His daughter, with Berengaria and the Queen of Sicily, sailed in the first division of Richard's fleet from Limesol; and after having placed strong garrisons in various fortresses and castles, the king himself took ship in the port of Famagusta,* on Saturday, the first of June, and set sail for Acre, seven weeks and four days after his departure from Messina.

* It is generally stated that Richard sailed from Limesol, but it is particularly pointed out by Vinesauf, that after the departure of the two queens he went to Famagusta, where part of his fleet had been left, and took ship there, which accounts for the arrival of Berengaria at Acre before her husband.

BOOK XVI.

BEFORE I proceed further with the personal history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, it may be necessary to give some account of the state of Palestine at the time when the English monarch arrived upon its shores. In the thirteenth book of this history, I have conducted the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem up to the period when the holy city fell before the arms of Saladin. The conqueror showed himself generous in victory, but not the less eager for conquest. The subjugation of the Holy Land was advanced, but not completed, by the fall of the city of David, and several exceedingly strong fortresses remained to be subdued ere the triumph of Islamism could be looked upon as complete, or the dominion of the sultan secure.

Authorities are not wanting for that part of the history of Palestine which follows; but the task of

the historian is rendered more difficult by the cessation of the regular and methodical account of William of Tyre, which was most serviceable in disentangling the complicated threads of eastern affairs, and leading investigation aright even when the prelate did not himself afford sufficient information. We are obliged to rely upon the scattered notices of the great events of the day which are to be found in the various Latin chroniclers; upon a few letters from the Holy Land, preserved by different historians; upon the account of Bernard, the treasurer; and upon the fuller but somewhat distorted statements of the Arabian writers, who, of course, afford more information regarding the proceedings of their own forces than of those of the Christian leaders.

The first act of the great sultan, after the capture of the holy city, was to cleanse it of the impurities contracted during eighty-eight years of Christian occupation; but after having spent a few days in rejoicing and prayer, Saladin resumed his arms again, and marched forth to bring under his yoke the rest of the land. The delay which had taken place was important to the Christians, and detrimental to Islamism. The citizens and garrison of Jerusalem had been suffered to proceed, after paying the stipulated ransom, whithersoever they would; and with the strictest regard to his word, the sultan not only set them free, but in several instances caused them to be escorted by his own soldiery on the road, and in others defrayed the expenses of

their journey.* Besides straggling parties, there were three grand divisions of exiles, one of which directed its course towards Antioch, another towards Tripoli, and another towards Tyre. The two former, according to the account of Bernard, the treasurer, were inhospitably received, and their goods pillaged, by their fellow-Christians. Many of them, however, turned their steps towards Alexandria, still protected by Saladin and supported by the Moslem, and thence, in the following spring, embarked for Europe, to spread the tale of disaster far and wide, and call that quarter of the world to arms for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. The third party, which marched for Tyre, met with a more favourable reception, and aided the citizens of that strong place to check the progress of the conqueror.

Several modern writers have asserted, that after the battle of Tiberiad, Saladin besieged the city of Tyre, and withdrew his forces to effect the more important conquest of Ascalon; but there is a very slight foundation for this story,† and the Arabian writers only indicate that their great monarch hesi-

* History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Bernard, the treasurer.

† The authority for this statement is a letter of Brother Terric, Grand Preceptor of the Temple, written apparently before the fall of Jerusalem, in which he states that Tyre was then besieged; but it would appear that Terric was one of those who escaped from Tiberiad, and that he wrote the letter before the capture of Ascalon, when the armies of Saladin were on the march along the sea-coast towards Jerusalem, where the Templar had probably taken shelter. He himself describes the hosts

tated for a time as to which of the two fortresses he should attack before he proceeded to the subjugation of Jerusalem. The account of Hoveden is confused; and Bernard, the treasurer, merely mentions that, from some intelligence within the town, Saladin was led to believe the inhabitants would quietly surrender to him; that he appeared before the city, and finding his hopes disappointed, turned his arms another way, after a short attack, into the details of which he does not enter.* The preservation of Tyre was of the utmost importance to the Christians of the Holy Land; but from every account, it would appear that the consternation spread by the fatal battle of Tiberiad had so greatly affected the inhabitants of the city, that a number abandoned it, and fled to Jerusalem, while the rest quietly contemplated submitting to the arms of the conqueror. The deepest depression reigned in

of the Moslem as overspreading the whole country between Tyre and Jerusalem like ants, so that we may well suppose that what was taking place at Tyre between the fourth of July and the middle of August was not accurately known in the city of David, especially when the rumour of that place being besieged is in direct opposition to the testimony of one who was with the army of Saladin.

* He states, indeed, that on this occasion, as well as during the subsequent siege, the old Marquis of Montferrat was brought beneath the walls of the city, in order to intimidate his son; but the total silence of the Arabian historians, in regard to this attack upon Tyre, would throw an air of doubt over the whole statement, even if Ibn Alatir had not expressed a regret that Saladin did not attack it immediately after the battle of Tiberiad.

Tyre, when unexpected succour reached it.* I have already related the circumstances attending the marriage of the Princess Sybilla to William, commonly called Long-Sword, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, and the early death of that gallant but somewhat licentious prince. The old marquis himself, who had taken the cross some time before, was captured by the sultan, at Tiberiad, and remained a prisoner in his hands; and at the very period of that fatal defeat, his youngest son, Conrad, was on the seas to join him with a small body of chosen and experienced warriors.

Filled with the adventurous spirit of the day, hardy, resolute, and enterprising, Conrad of Montferrat had already distinguished himself highly in arms. By the father's side he was cousin to Philip, King of France; by the mother's, he stood in the same relationship to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa;† and after visiting Constantinople, having

* Historians vary very much with regard to the date of the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat. Some say that he reached Tyre the day after the battle of Tiberiad; some say, two or three days after; but all agree that the time between the two events was short. Neither do we know how many men he had with him. In speaking of his departure from Constantinople, Bernard, the treasurer, seems to imply that he was accompanied by several vessels, but afterwards mentions only one. It is curious to remark, that the account of Ibn Alatir, regarding the arrival of Conrad on the shores of Syria, is almost precisely the same as that of Bernard, the treasurer. Indeed, the similarity even of expression is very remarkable.

† William of Tyre.

quelled a rebellion, slain the leader of the insurgents with his own sword, and received the hand of the emperor's sister as a reward, he took ship for the Holy Land, impelled partly, there is reason to believe, by the military zeal of the day, partly by a desire of escaping the dangers which surrounded him at Constantinople, from the treacherous friends of the prince he had put to death. He arrived with his small train on the coast of Palestine, immediately after the defeat of Tiberiad, and, ignorant of all that had occurred, directed his course towards Acre. On approaching the city, however, he perceived that there were no crosses on the churches, and his ear did not catch the sound of bells. Judging at once that the town was in possession of the enemy,* he took care not to enter the port, but sailed with all speed towards Tyre, pursued, it would seem, by some Saracen vessels. He found the Tyrian Christians in a state of abject consternation; but they besought him anxiously to land and assist them; and the young marquis, entertaining hopes of re-animating their courage, from the desire they expressed of defending their town, at once acceded to their request, and was met by the notables and clergy in procession. Accompanied by his knights, he immediately took possession of the citadel, and prepared to hold out the fortress to the last. His example gave courage

* William of Newbury, lib. iii. cap. 19. Bernard, the treasurer.

to the citizens; several knights of the Temple and Hospital joined him; and Saladin, finding that the conquest of Tyre would be more difficult than he had anticipated, marched on to Ascalon, the possession of which was of much greater importance to him at the time, as it commanded the best road from Egypt to Jerusalem.*

After the fall of the city of David, the garrison of Tyre was reinforced by several parties from Jerusalem. A number of the Christian inhabitants of Acre and Berytes had also taken refuge there, and Conrad of Montferrat had applied himself diligently to three great objects—that of supplying the town with provisions, that of strengthening its fortifications, and that of disciplining and instructing its people in the use of arms. Provisions were easily obtainable; but the various means he took for the defence of the place seem to have caused astonishment amongst the Mahommedans. "He was a devil incarnate for cunning and courage," says Ibn Alatir; "he fortified Tyre with the greatest care, he dug new ditches, repaired the walls, separated the peninsula on which it was built from the continent, and made of Tyre a sort of inaccessible island in the midst of the waters.

The news of these vigorous and wise measures brought multitudes to the gates of the city; and, though we do not know with what selection, Conrad

* Ibn Alatir.

received within the walls so great a number of skilful and valiant men, that Emad Eddin exclaims—"This town had become the seat of the frauds of the infidels, the nest of their perfidies, the asylum of fugitives, and the refuge of wanderers. The marquis was the most perfidious and the most to be feared of the Franks, the most artful of the wolves of Tyre, the most impure of her dogs, and the most subtle that it is possible to imagine."

It is beyond all doubt that before Conrad undertook the defence of Tyre, he stipulated for certain authority in the city, but to what extent that authority was carried, it would be difficult to discover. The Arabian historian states, that the inhabitants gave up to him the sovereignty of the town; and it is proved that in the end he obtained the entire command, and exercised all the rights of sovereignty therein up to the period of his death.

The battle of Tiberiad took place on the fourth of July, 1187; Ascalon fell shortly after, and Jerusalem had surrendered by the second of October in the same year. Immediately after the capture of the Holy City, Saladin detached a considerable division of his army to blockade Tyre, and following himself early in November, laid siege to the place on the tenth or eleventh of the month. By this time, however, the fortress was in all respects prepared to offer an effectual resistance; and the Mahommedan writers express much regret that their great monarch had not attempted to reduce it before he

turned his arms against Jerusalem. The delay which had occurred proved the salvation of Tyre; for not only had Conrad strengthened the defences of the place in every possible manner, gathered together all the galleys which could be found in the neighbourhood, and trained and encouraged the inhabitants to resist, but he had sent off messengers to the nearest Christian princes, beseeching their aid in defending the last great maritime town which afforded the Latin population of the Holy Land both a place of refuge and a means of communicating with their brethren in the west. Nor was the appeal in vain; for though some other princes hesitated, and many procrastinated, William the Good, of Sicily, sent immediate succour, and several knights and gentlemen of Spain hastened from the countries in which they were sojourning, to the aid of Tyre. No means were left untried on the part of the Moslem to reduce the city. Vast engines plied the walls continually, and fourteen catapults and mangonels cast immense masses of stones into the town and upon the ramparts. Armed galleys were brought from Acre to complete the blockade; and the fiery vigour of the Egyptian cavalry was for some time exerted with success to drive the Christian forces back within the walls as often as they ventured forth. But shortly after the commencement of the siege, a Spanish knight appeared, covered with green armour, and bearing part of a broken chain on his casque. The Mahommedans called

him the Green Knight," a name by which, in former ages, they had distinguished St. George of Cappadocia, the hero of Arabian as well as European tales; and the prowess of the unknown warrior was so great, that multitudes of the host of Islam, we are assured, collected round the spot where he was to be seen, to wonder at and admire, rather than to encounter him. Saladin himself was so struck with his spirit of enterprise and valorous deeds, that he sought to see him, and offered him immense riches and high dignities, as a temptation to apostasy. The Green Knight, however, remained faithful to his religion and the cause he had undertaken to defend.

To meet the swarming hosts of the infidel, and to cover the operations of the Christian forces when they sallied from the gates, Conrad caused boats of leather to be constructed, having a very small draught of water. In these he placed a number of skilful archers, who poured the flights of their arrows upon the bodies of Moslem troops that lined the shore.

Finding the siege likely to be long and wearisome, his supplies running low, and his troops anxious to retire into winter quarters, Saladin brought the old Marquis of Montferrat, who had been taken at Tiberiad, under the walls of Tyre, and offered to set him at liberty if his son would surrender the city.*

* Most of the Christian writers assert that Saladin threatened to put the old Marquis of Montferrat to death if the resistance of Tyre was protracted; some, that he exposed him to the arrows from the walls; but I have preferred the account of

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But the young commander treated the proposal with contempt, and the siege proceeded with unremitted vigour. Fresh succour continued to arrive in Tyre ;* and, with vigorous determination, Conrad resolved to lead the sultan into a rash engagement. By means of an Egyptian who had fled from Saladin's camp and embraced Christianity, he led the sultan to believe that the garrison of Tyre intended to abandon the city, and took care that appearances should favour the false intelligence thus conveyed. Judging that an immediate attempt would be made by the Saracen galleys to enter the port in order to prevent his escape, Conrad filled the three towers by which the harbour was guarded with chosen troops, under orders not to show themselves, and at the same time affected to leave the walls on the land side almost undefended. At the hour which had been named by the Egyptian, he proceeded with a great number of men to the port, and caused some noise and confusion to be made, as if he were embarking his troops in haste. The Moslem commanders fell into the snare ; the troops of Saladin advanced to the

Bernard, the treasurer, for various reasons, and especially because it is more consistent with the character of Saladin, whose conduct on this occasion was perfectly in harmony with that which he pursued at Ascalon.

* Bernard, the treasurer, denies that aid to any great amount was afforded to Conrad; but it is clear, from some of his own statements, as well as from the accounts of contemporaries, that more than one party forced its way into Tyre.

assault on the land side, passed the palisade without resistance, and reached the foot of the walls, which they attempted to mine, finding them too high for their ladders. The Saracen galleys rowed rapidly towards the harbour; and finding the great chain down, and nothing but a confused multitude in the port, began to sweep in without fear; but after five had entered, the chain was suddenly raised, the garrisons of the towers rushed forth from their places of concealment, the five Mahommedan galleys were boarded and taken, and, joined to the Christian ships in the port, rowed forth again, swarming with men, to attack the fleet of Saladin. The Mahommedan navy fled with the utmost speed, pursued by the ships of Tyre; but several were taken, others were lost upon the coast, and only two escaped to Berytes. The discomfiture of the fleet was seen from the camp of the sultan; and the efforts of a great part of the Moslem force were directed to save the men and ships which had been driven upon the coast, while the troops who had passed the palisade were forgotten and left unsupported. Conrad, however, as soon as he had seen the success of his stratagem at the port, hurried back to take advantage of the imprudence of the assailants, who were already actually mining the wall. Assailed on both flanks by the Christians, an immense number of Mahommedans perished. After this double defeat, although Saladin himself would willingly have persisted, yet he found his emirs unwilling to pursue the siege during

the winter; and cutting off the ears and tail of his horse, as a sign of sorrow and disgrace, he abandoned the siege of Tyre.*

Conrad, it would appear, was now acknowledged as sovereign prince of Tyre, and Guy of Lusignan, who had commanded little respect in the days of his highest fortune, was totally neglected and forgotten in captivity and adversity. The period of his liberation, however, now approached, and at length Saladin fulfilled his word, and set the prisoner free, though we are assured by the Christian writers that this act of justice did not take place till the month of May, notwithstanding the stipulations entered into at Ascalon. Both Bernard, the treasurer, and Vinesauf also assert that Saladin did not fulfil his word till he had extracted from Guy a cession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and a vow to cross the seas and never to bear arms against his conqueror again; and it is added, that the unhappy king was afterwards absolved from his oath by the Christian pre-

* The latter trait is derived from a letter of the Grand Preceptor of the Temple, written after the fall of Jerusalem. His brief account of the siege of Tyre is very similar to that of Bernard, the treasurer, from whom I have taken the greater part of these statements; but the Templar's narrative shows that Conrad had received much greater reinforcements, and was possessed of a much larger fleet than is admitted by Bernard. Vinesauf also gives us to understand, that the gallant defender of Tyre was not very scrupulous as to the means he employed for the purpose of collecting galleys along the Syrian coast.

lates, as it was taken under compulsion, and was contrary both to the spirit and the letter of the treaty of Ascalon.* Such a perfidious breach of faith as is here attributed to Saladin was quite contrary to the general character of that great prince; and we find, in one of the very authors who make the charge, the record of acts, performed at the same time, so generous and noble as to throw great doubt upon the whole statement. Immediately before the liberation of Guy of Lusignan, the sultan sent his prisoner, the old Marquis of Montferrat, to Tyre, making the son a present of the father's liberty, as a generous testimony of the admiration which he felt for Conrad's gallant defence of the city under his command; and a short time afterwards, he set free the son of Renault of Sidon, and sent him, without ransom, to his parent.†

It had been stipulated at Ascalon, that on the liberation of the king, nine other Christian prisoners, at his choice, should also be delivered, and it is not denied that in this particular the sultan kept his word to the letter. The Grand Master of the Temple,

* Post, circa principium Maii, Regem à vinculis liberat; et læsa pactione priori, novam et duram conditionem imponit. Vinesauf, lib. i. cap. x.

† Bernard, the treasurer. There is another account which states that the old marquis was exchanged for an Arabian emir; but as far as I can make out the chronology of the events, the liberation of William the Elder took place before the capture of Azotus, and I have therefore adopted the statement of Bernard.

though the fiercest enemy of the Moslem, the constable, and the marshal of the kingdom, were selected by Guy, with six other knights, and were at once set free. With these, and Sybilla, he is said to have proceeded, in the first instance, to Tyre, where he demanded admission in the quality of sovereign. It would seem, from the words of the chronicler, that he had a considerable force with him; and Conrad refused the royal party admittance into the city, saying that God had given it to him, and he would keep it.* Guy bitterly resented this act of Conrad;

* The recently published history of the Knight Templars represents Guy and his family as fugitives cruelly repelled from Tyre, but I cannot take the same view. The king was by no means a lonely wanderer without friends or support. He was accompanied by a number of the first men in the kingdom, aided zealously by the powerful order of the Temple, and had at his command a part at least of the money sent to Palestine by Henry II. of England. It would seem, indeed, from a letter in Diceto, col. 642, that this money was one of the great causes of strife; and Bernard, the treasurer, assures us, that at the very time Guy went to Tyre he was preparing for the siege of Acre, and therefore he could not be in such a destitute condition as has been represented. It may be as well to remark, that the Historia Hierosolimitana, cited by Mr. Addison, from the Gesta Dei per Francos, is a mere transcript from the first book of Vinesauf. That Guy was powerfully accompanied when he presented himself before Tyre, is proved by the historian Boha-eddin, who informs us that the remains of the army which was vanquished at Tiberiad sought out the king immediately upon his liberation, with a number of other fugitives from the conquered towns, and swore to use their best efforts to restore to him his kingdom.

the Templars, headed by their grand master, took part with the king; the Hospitallers sided with the brave defender of Tyre; and we thenceforth find two virulent factions dividing the remnant of Christians in the Holy Land, at a time when their only safety was in union and co-operation. Guy betook himself to Antioch and Tripoli, and passed a considerable part of the year 1188 in making preparations for the siege of Acre. At this period, indeed, he showed more activity, energy, and courage than he had ever previously displayed; but unfortunately the confidence of the people was lost. The faction against the king, which had been always powerful, was now headed by a gallant, enterprising, and ambitious prince; and all the undertakings of the monarch met with impediments which took from them every chance of success.

In the meanwhile, with the forces of his enemies paralysed both by consternation and party spirit, Saladin marched from conquest to conquest; and though it was not, as it has been sometimes called, one uninterrupted triumph, yet his progress through the Holy Land left little to the Christians but a few strong places principally on the sea-coast. After the fall of Ascalon and Jerusalem, the most important portions of Palestine were in the hands of the sultan. Tiberiad opened the way to Damascus, Ascalon to Egypt, and Acre, Berytes, and Jaffa gave him sufficient communication with the sea. Tripoli and Antioch, it is true, were in the hands of

his enemies; Carac, or Petra Deserta, was maintained by its undaunted garrison; Laodicea, Biblis, Margat, and some other places on the coast were also possessed by the Christians in the north, and Tyre still held out to the west of Tiberiad. The strong fortresses, also, of Kaukab and Sefed were garrisoned, the first by the Hospitallers, and the second by the Templars; and Shaubec communicated with Carac, on the shores of the Dead Sea.

Judging that little could be effected by the Christians in the south, and that the places which they occupied, though strong enough to present great difficulties to a besieging army, could be very little serviceable to their possessors, Saladin appears, during the repose of the winter, which he passed at Damascus, to have fixed the object and laid out the plan of the succeeding campaign in the north of the Holy Land, where his presence was important in various points of view. Early in the spring, the Moslem forces began to congregate at the place of rendezvous, on the shores of the lake of Emessa, and the sultan immediately put himself at their head. The army with which he took the field was, as usual, immense, and the first point of attack was the county of Tripoli; but at the same time, a detachment was sent to attack Kaukab, while Malek Adel was directed to keep the garrisons of Shaubec and Carac in check.

The military habits and prudent government of the deceased Count of Tripoli had maintained in his dominions a resolute spirit and a regular

discipline which had been lost in the other states of Palestine; and a vigorous resistance met the efforts and repulsed the attacks of the great leader of the infidel. The castle of the Curds resisted the first assault of the Moslem troops, and Tripoli itself, assisted by reinforcements from Tyre, laughed to scorn the arms of the besieger.* The prospect of obtaining easy possession of Gibleh afforded a pleasant excuse to Saladin for abandoning an attempt which was not likely to prove successful, and at the same time, it harmonized well with his usual plan of operations, which was, it would seem, to subdue all the minor places surrounding either any strong town or any important district which he intended to subjugate; and then, having cut off its resources and separated it from its allies, to concentrate his whole forces suddenly upon it, and endeavour to reduce it by fierce and unremitting attack. The conquest, therefore, of a part of the Antiochan state might thus be considered as a first step towards the conquest of Tripoli; and Gibleh having surrendered without resistance, though some difficulties, which I shall notice hereafter, presented themselves on the road, Saladin marched by Tortosa, which was already in his power, and captured Margat, Biblis, and the Syrian Laodicea. A number of other small places in the principality of Antioch were taken by detachments

* Bernard, the treasurer; Ibn Alatir.

from the great army, and the city of Antioch itself was cut off from the rest of the Holy Land by the capture of Berzia, at which Saladin was present in person. The fall of Darbessac, which was valiantly defended by the Templars, and Bagras, which surrendered without striking a blow, brought the sultan almost to the gates of Antioch, the prince of which place, wrapped in debauchery, did nothing for the defence of his dominions till the Crescent appeared under his walls.* Even then he contented himself with demanding a truce, which was granted upon the condition that he liberated the numerous Mahommedan prisoners who were then in his hands.

It would appear that Saladin withdrew from Antioch with regret, for Boemond, Prince of Antioch, held, also, at this time, authority in Tripoli, and the fall of the one city would inevitably have induced the subjugation of the other. But the troops of the sultan were weary of continual marches in the heat of the summer, and a considerable portion of the army was not to be depended upon. Saladin, therefore, granted peace to Antioch for eight months, and retiring to Damascus, dismissed the greater part of his forces to winter quarters. He himself, however, still kept the field with a considerable body of chosen troops. Carac and Shaubec, the strongest fortresses in the east of Palestine, surrendered, under the pressure of famine,

* Boha-eddin.

to Malek Adel; and the sultan himself proceeded to the attack of Sefed, in the midst of the Ramadan. An effort was made by the garrison of Tyre to succour the fortress of Sefed, but the reinforcement was surprised by an ambuscade, and the place soon after surrendered.* Kaukab was next besieged, but a far more vigorous resistance was here made by the Knights of the Hospital. Its position was exceedingly commanding, situated upon the top of a high rock, "as if," says Emad-eddin, "it touched the stars." The rain poured down in torrents upon the Mahommedan host; the wind blew and overthrew the tents; the roads were almost impassable; and, notwithstanding the falling deluge, water fit for drinking was scanty in the camp of Saladin. But, in this instance, he showed a determined resolution which overcame all obstacles; and, in the end, Kaukab surrendered after the walls had been mined and the place was no longer tenable.

Thus closed the campaign of 1188, at the conclusion of which Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, with a few small forts, were the only places which remained to the Christians of all that had been acquired by Godfrey of Bouillon and his successors. Some of these small forts, however, were important, from their position, and from the gallantry and determination of the bodies by which they were garrisoned; so that many difficulties yet remained in the way of Saladin,

* Ibn Alatir; Boha-eddin.

even in Palestine itself, while menacing clouds had gathered in the west, and were ready to pour once more the storm of European war upon the Moslem forces in Syria.

I have already mentioned in the third volume of this work, the arrival in Europe of William, Archbishop of Tyre, who had set out from the Holy Land at the commencement of the Christian disasters, for the purpose of rousing the princes and chivalry of Europe from the apathy which had fallen over them in regard to the fate of their brethren in the East. No long details of his progress are admissible here, but his mission was, as I have already shown, successful in an extraordinary degree. The King of Sicily, then William the Good, in whose dominions the archbishop first touched, received him with kindness, and embraced the cause he advocated with enthusiasm. Without hesitation or delay, a hundred galleys and a large body of troops, led by three hundred knights,* sailed from the ports of Sicily to give support to the defeated Christians of Syria, and arrived off Tyre at the period when Saladin was attacking Tripoli. A detachment was consequently sent to assist the garrison of the latter city, and it is probable that the appearance of this succour had some share in causing the sultan to abandon his attempt. The Sicilian high admiral, Margarit, remained for some time on the Syrian

* Bernard, the treasurer.

coast, and seems, by his gallantry and conduct, to have raised himself high in the opinion of the Saracens. He followed the army of Saladin along the shore of Palestine, as it marched from Tripoli towards Antioch, harassed it whenever the opportunity presented itself, and probably would have saved Laodicea, had not the garrison weakly abandoned it to the enemy. Highly enraged at this pusillanimous proceeding, Margarit threatened to put to death any of the inhabitants who fell into his hands; but afterwards requested and obtained an interview with the sultan,* and besought him to treat the Christians of the subjugated territory with lenity and moderation.

From Sicily, William of Tyre proceeded to Rome, Germany, and England, where he found the nobility deeply moved by the painful intelligence which had preceded him, and already prepared to receive with zeal his exhortations to a new crusade. The first who took arms was Frederic Barbarossa; and the most wise and learned but least superstitious monarch of the age, the bold assailant of dogmas, and perhaps of creeds, appeared in the new characters of a preacher and a crusader, and led an innumerable host of gallant, determined, and well-disciplined men to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. Traversing Hungary and Greece, he detected and defeated the perfidious schemes of the

* Ibn Alatir.

Emperor Isaac, passed on into Asia Minor, overthrew in a general engagement the vast host of the Sultan of Iconium, which had been called forth against him by the treacherous Emperor of Constantinople, took the city of Iconium itself, and reduced the Moslem powers to the north of Antioch, to sue for peace, and to allow him to march tranquilly through their country. At the close of 1188, the whole of Germany was preparing for the crusade, and Saladin had already received letters from Frederic Barbarossa, requiring the restitution of Jerusalem to the Christians, and announcing the march of all the imperial forces to enforce the demand if it were not at once complied with. Saladin replied boldly, and even haughtily, but he nevertheless felt that his position was becoming dangerous, even by the magnitude of his conquests; for at this time he could not foresee that the waters of the Cydnus would deliver him from the greatest and the wisest of his enemies.

The spirit which animated Frederic Barbarossa and the German chivalry, spread throughout the whole of Europe, and the poetical feeling which was then bursting forth afresh, after a long night of silence and darkness, gave a peculiar voice to the general sentiment of the times. The Troubadours and Trouveres took up the cause of the Christians at Palestine; the *plainte* for the loss of Jerusalem and the capture of the Sepulchre was heard from castle to castle; and the *sirvente* and the *fabliau* lashed,

with all the virulence of indignation, the monarchs and the princes who spent, in private dissensions, the time, the treasure, and the blood, which might have been employed in conquering the infidel, and delivering the sepulchre of Christ. All Europe flew to arms, the crusading enthusiasm became once more general, and France, England, and the Low Countries prepared to send forth their vigorous and energetic races to combat the infidel on the plains of Syria. We find, from all the Arabian writers, that news of this universal armament reached the great sultan towards the end of 1188, and the tongue of rumour still sounded louder and louder, like the roar of an advancing torrent, restoring courage and hope to the divided and defeated Christians, and bringing warning of assault and danger to the enemies of the Cross.

The early part of 1189 was passed by Saladin very nearly in inactivity. His troops were exhausted by a campaign which had been prolonged into the winter, and could not be recalled to his standard so soon as was necessary. The truce with Antioch was on the eve of expiring; Frederic Barbarossa was still upon his triumphant march; detached parties of crusaders were daily arriving at Tyre and Tripoli; the Sicilian fleet was still upon the coast; and Saladin seemed waiting, like a lion couched in his lair, to spring upon the first body of the enemy which should afford him an opportunity. He wasted too much time indeed before the insignifi-

cant fortress of Schakif,* the commander of which artfully contrived to amuse him with the hopes of a speedy surrender, without the least intention, it would appear, of yielding his stronghold to the hands of the enemy.†

Suddenly a great movement was remarked amongst the Christians of the Holy Land. Guy of Lusignan, supported by the Templars, all the principal barons of Palestine, and a number of distinguished warriors from the West, gathered together in the neighbourhood of Tyre. Whether the king was admitted into the city or not, I cannot discover; but it is evident, from the conduct of all parties, as well as from the testimony of both Arabian and European writers, that a hollow and insincere reconciliation‡ had taken place between Guy and Conrad of Montferrat, and that they had agreed to act together against the infidel, although the ambition of the young marquis only waited for the opportunity of snatching at the royal authority. While still under the walls of Schakif, Saladin received intelligence that the disputes between the Christian king and Conrad of Montferrat had been for the time appeased, that an immense number of crusaders of all nations had been assembled under the walls of Tyre, and that an immediate attack either upon Sidon or Acre was about to take place. One

* This castle, it appears, was called by the Christians, "La Roche Guillaume."

† Boha-eddin. ‡ Diceto, col. 654; Emad-eddin, &c.

corps of the sultan's army was detached to watch the proceedings of the Christians; and, on receiving intimation that his enemies were in motion, Saladin himself hastened with a large body of his best troops to support the division which lay between Sidon and Tyre. A terrible combat, however, had already taken place before his arrival on the scene of action. A multitude fell on both sides; and though the principal Arabian authors do not claim the victory for their chief, it appears certain that the crusaders were forced to retreat to their former position, and abandon the meditated attack of Sidon. In two subsequent engagements between the army of Guy and detached divisions of Saladin's forces, it would seem, even according to the Arabian accounts, that success was upon the side of the Christians, and that a tremendous slaughter of the Moslem took place. On the last occasion, however, the sultan himself coming up, with the main body of his army, drove the enemy back once more to the walls of Tyre.

Judging rightly that Acre would be the next place assailed, Saladin proceeded in person to that city, to visit the new fortifications which were in progress under the superintendence of a skilful engineer,* who had been brought from Egypt; and, after having passed some days there, he returned to the siege of Schakif. In the meantime, the King of Jerusalem, resolving to make one great effort for

* His name was Boha-eddin Caracousch.

the recovery of his dominions, led his army, enfeebled as it was by sanguinary combats with the Saracens, to the attack of Acre, trusting for support, in his daring enterprise, to the Christians, who were daily arriving from the west. The Hospitallers, as well as the Templars, now gave him their assistance, although Conrad of Montferrat, some of the bishops, and a number of the principal leaders of Palestine, strongly opposed what they represented as a rash and perilous attempt.* This division of opinion greatly reduced the forces upon which the king had probably calculated; but he nevertheless pursued his object; "and people were very much astonished," says Bernard, the treasurer, "that he went to besiege Acre with so few folks as he had; for, to every man that was with him, there were in Acre four." As soon as he had encamped before the city, Guy sent off messengers to Tripoli, beseeching the aid of the Sicilians, whose galleys, it would appear, were still in the vicinity of that town; and he also took means to strengthen his position, which was in itself a very good one, by palisades and field-works, such as were used in those days. Troops speedily began to pour in, supplies of different kinds of food were sent abundantly to the camp of the King of Jerusalem, and before Saladin appeared with his army, Guy was able, at least, to defend himself on the high grounds which he occupied.

* Diceto, col. 648.

The Christians differ very much from the Mahommedan historians, both as to the conduct and views of Saladin at this period. Some say that he lingered long before he approached the walls of Acre, but the Arabian writers generally declare that at the very first news of the march of the crusading army, the sultan put in movement his own forces in order to cut it off. For a time, it would appear from the account of Boha-eddin, the great monarch imagined that the march upon Acre was merely a demonstration, intended to draw him off from Schakif; but he did not allow that impression to delay his progress, and commenced his march for the sea-coast, leaving a division of his army to maintain the blockade of the place he had been besieging. Though he advanced rapidly, it would seem the Christians had been on the ground several days before him,* the Sicilian fleet was lying off the port, and the River Belus supplied the soldiery with the first article of necessity in hot climates.

Strongly barricaded, the camp of Guy of Lusignan occupied the top of the hill of the Mossallins, or Mount Thuron, and although, according to the Arabian account, they numbered only two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, their position was judged by Saladin too strong to be attacked. The

* In a letter addressed to the pope from two adherents of Conrad of Montferrat, it is stated that Saladin's first attack upon the Christian army took place on the third day after the commencement of the siege.

crusading force, however, was not large enough to invest Acre completely, and for several days there was not the slightest danger in passing from the army of Saladin to the city. The Mussulman prince instantly took advantage of this circumstance to throw supplies and reinforcements into the town, finding that the number of his enemies under the walls of Acre was daily increased by the arrival of European vessels or of galleys from Tyre. As soon as the object of the Christian enterprise was known, Saladin had himself sent forth a summons for his emirs, with the detachments which they commanded, to join him, without loss of time; and day by day his force increased, till at the end of August it amounted, we are assured, to more than a hundred thousand men.

The Christian forces had augmented likewise, though not in the same proportion; but sufficient reinforcements arrived to enable Guy completely to invest the fortress on the land side, and the siege may be said to have really commenced about the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of August. The day after the army of the crusaders had extended itself to the sea-shore on both sides, the sultan put his troops in motion, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted till night, and having been renewed on the following morning, continued from break of day till noon, without the slightest impression having been made upon the Christian ranks.*

* Boha-eddin.

The new ground, which the army of Guy had first occupied two days before, was not yet fortified with trenches or palisades; and at length, shortly after mid-day, Taki-eddin, the nephew of Saladin, led a strong body of cavalry towards it, and with a vigorous charge cut his way through, and re-opened the communication with the city. Pouring immense masses upon the same point, the sultan himself completed the rout of the Christians in that part of the field, and took the rest of the royal army in flank. The garrison of Acre made a sally at the same time; and, if we are to believe the Arabian writers, the disarray of the crusaders was so great, that their destruction was inevitable if the Moslem had pursued their advantage. "They would have fled if they could," says Emad-eddin; and it is probable that the immense force of Saladin, sweeping round, rendered retreat impracticable, even if it had been desired.

A letter from the camp, written about a month after, likewise describes the position of Guy and his forces at this time as very perilous. The whole Christian army, according to this account, was driven back to the summit of Mount Thuron, and surrounded by the Mahommedan troops, so that they could not issue forth; but the writers of this letter, it must be remembered, were perhaps more prejudiced against Guy than against the Saracens, being adherents of his rival Conrad; and reasons, which I think sufficient, will appear shortly, for supposing that the advantage gained by Saladin

was not so great as they and the Arabian writers represent. There is no doubt that the passage between Acre and the sultan's camp was so completely opened, that fresh supplies both of men and provisions were thrown in, and that Saladin himself entered the city, mounted the ramparts, and thence reconnoitred the Christian host. It is very probable, also, that he wished to pursue the combat till a small advantage should be changed into a great victory, and that by error, his troops, wearied with many hours' fighting under the scorching sun of Syria, retired without orders to their tents, thinking that the work of the day was accomplished. But we find that the crusading force had by the next morning so much recovered from the check of the day before, as to reoccupy the ground lost, to dig trenches, and raise barricades; and when the army of the sultan marched to the attack, the troops of Guy presented a front from which the Moslem turned without having effected anything. Saladin retreated to his tents, and for some weeks the war was reduced to mere skirmishing.

In the intervals of hostility, the Christian and the Moslem seemed to lay aside their enmity, and mingle together in friendly sports and pastimes, till one day, probably without any satirical meaning, one of the Christian warriors said to a soldier of the garrison of Acre, "How long will grown men go on fighting? why should we not make the little ones fight? Come, let us put our children to the work."

The proposal was agreed to readily: a host of young Saracens issued forth from Acre; the Christian children were brought out of the camp, and a combat took place under the walls, in which both parties, we are assured, did valiantly. One little Crusader was captured by a young Mussulman, and his parents paid two pieces of gold as his ransom.*

A more sanguinary scene was soon to be presented. Knowing that the forces of the enemy were daily increasing, and that, from the great extent of ground occupied, the Christian army presented several weak points, Guy of Lusignan sent messages to Conrad of Montferrat, beseeching him, if not from reverence for the royal authority, at least for the honour of the Christian name, to join his troops to those which were every day menaced with destruction by the Moslem.† A gallant and chivalrous spirit could not remain dull to such a call, and embarking with a thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand foot, Conrad joined the army of the king towards the end of September. About the same period, it would appear, a large force of Danes and Frisons, amounting to twelve thousand men, in fifty ships, reached the coast of Syria, and the troops were immediately disembarked to aid in the attack of Acre. A number of smaller parties followed, French, English, Flemings, and Germans, amongst whom was the celebrated James of Avesnes, with two or three bishops, and a German landgrave.

* Boha-eddin. † Diceto, col. 648.

The considerable accession of strength which had been thus received encouraged the King of Jerusalem to make one great effort against the camp of the enemy; and on the fourth of October, early in the morning, the whole cavalry was put in motion. The intention of the leaders had been kept quite secret, and not the slightest suspicion of an approaching attack had reached the sultan. Although his forces far outnumbered the troops of the Cross, many considerable leaders, with their divisions, were absent,* a great part of the Saracen soldiery were reposing in their tents, and the sultan himself, it would appear, was one of the first who perceived the movements and divined the purposes of the Christians. He instantly sent heralds to all quarters of his camp, to call his troops to arms, and remained himself on the hill where his tent was pitched, watching the proceedings of the enemy. The hosts of the Cross issued forth in four divisions: the first was headed by the king in person, who commanded during the day,† and was composed of the battalions of the Hospital, and a body of French troops; the second was led by Conrad of Montferrat, having

* Ibn Alatir.

† Boha-eddin. We have the account of four eye-witnesses,—Boha-eddin, Emad-eddin, and the two Christians whose letter has been already cited,—and the statements which they give are sufficiently clear and minute to render it unnecessary for us to have recourse to Vinesauf, whose authority is exceedingly doubtful upon transactions which he did not see with his own eyes.

under him the principal part of the troops from Tyre; the third consisted of Pisans and Germans; and the fourth comprised the Templars, the Catalonians, and a body of Germans. To guard the camp, there remained a considerable force commanded by Geoffrey of Lusignan, the king's brother, and James of Avesnes; but I find no means of ascertaining the numbers in the respective divisions.

The principal attack of the Christians was directed against the right wing of Saladin's army under Taki-eddin. The furious charge of the crusading cavalry carried all before it in that part of the field, and Saladin immediately detached a large portion of his infantry from the centre, to support the routed forces of his nephew. By so doing, however, he, of course, greatly weakened his centre, and another division of the crusaders charged up the hill, carrying confusion and dismay into the midst of the enemy. The Mussulman forces gave way; in vain Saladin in person passed across the whole line, exhorting his soldiers to fight for the joys of Paradise, which their prophet had promised;* in vain he exposed himself to the utmost peril, to rally his confused and panic-stricken men; the troops of Mesopotamia, unaccustomed to encounter the chivalry of Europe, fled like a herd of deer, and some of them never halted for any length of time till they reached Damascus. At one moment, it would

* Emad-eddin.

appear, the tent of the sultan itself was filled with the Christians. But the very facility of the first success snatched the victory from the attacking army. The left wing of Saladin's host wheeled upon the rear of the Christians who were engaged in the centre, and cut them off from their intrenched camp. The error which had been committed was instantly perceived by some of the leaders on the hill, and an effort was made to remedy it; but the troops were collected with difficulty. Some were plundering; some were pursuing the fugitives; Saladin had time to rally his brave and veteran bands; and, attacked in front and rear at the same time, that division of the Christian army which had mounted the hill was routed with great slaughter. The Arabian writers assure us that hardly a man of all those who had shortly before driven the main body of the Moslem troops before them, returned alive to the camp.* At the same time, the garrison of Acre made a sally, and assailed the Christian camp; the right wing of the Moslem returned to the charge; and Guy, with the broken fragments of his army, after a gallant though unsuccessful fight, retreated to his lines pursued by the Saracen cavalry.

The slaughter upon both parts had been tremendous; but a number of prisoners remained in the hands of Saladin, amongst whom was the Grand Master of the Temple. He had before been taken prisoner at the castle of Tiberiad, and his life

* Ibn Alatir.

had been spared, when his brethren had been put to death; but on the present occasion the sultan commanded his head to be struck off immediately after the battle.* It would appear that the loss of the day was greatly owing to his imprudence, and that, carried on by the same rash spirit which he had displayed at Tiberiad, he had led the forces under his command to the attack of the centre of the enemy, exposing his flank and rear to the left of Saladin.† His daring courage was undoubted; but

* The statements of the Arabian authors who were in the camp of Saladin at the time are precise upon this point, and they certainly had better means of knowing the truth than Vinesauf, who was not present, and who did not write till many years afterwards. The joint letter from Theobaldus and Petrus only states, "Magister tamen Templariorum et plures de nostris eodem die sunt interfecti," but does not say whether the persons it refers to were killed in or after the battle.

† I do not find it distinctly stated that the division which attacked the centre of Saladin's army was that which was commanded by the Grand Master, and therefore I have used the expression, "it would appear;" but I have been led to conclude that such was the case by the following facts. The Arabian writers state that it was the body which assailed the centre which was cut off by the left wing, and so hemmed in that almost every man perished, or was taken prisoner. The other divisions seem to have returned to the camp with but little loss, and it is certain, from all accounts, that a number of the Templars were killed upon the hill where Saladin's tent was pitched. We are nowhere informed by an eye-witness which of the divisions it was that marched up the hill; but the letter of Theobald only mentions the Templars in one division of the army.

his turbulent and domineering character and general imprudence of conduct, are distinctly marked by all the historians of the Crusades; and I am much inclined to believe that the overbearing and ambitious spirit of the order to which he belonged, by the feuds and animosities which it planted and nourished, was more detrimental to the kingdom of Jerusalem, than the valour of all, and the skill of many of the knights were beneficial.

Many curious little incidents regarding this battle are told by the Arabian writers, to which I cannot afford a place here, but one fact is worthy of mention, as showing the enthusiasm in favour of a new Crusade which had seized upon all classes. The forces engaged upon the part of the Christians, it would seem, were entirely composed of cavalry; and yet, after the battle, when the Saracens stripped the dead bodies of their armour, the corpses of three ladies were found amongst the slain, armed and habited like men.

The number of the dead was so great, and the stench which issued forth from them, in the heat of the autumn, so dangerous, that after long deliberation with his emirs, the sultan determined to retreat from the position he then occupied, and encamp upon Mount Karouba. There he expected soon to be joined by Malek-Adel and a large reinforcement from Egypt, and at the same time, in a more salubrious air, to recruit his health, which had been

terribly shattered by the incessant fatigues he had undergone. A part of his troops were dismissed into winter quarters, and a small body was left before Acre to watch the proceedings of the Christians, and, as far as possible, to keep up a communication between the sultan and the besieged city.

While Saladin, with the rest of his forces, retired to Karouba, the Christians applied themselves to strengthen their lines round Acre, raising on the edge of their trenches a brick wall to be guarded by crossbow-men, whose bolts were regarded with great apprehension by the Saracens.* Churches, stables, and places of amusement were constructed within the lines, and Acre might be considered as a city besieged by another city, which had been suddenly built up under its battlements. Every day fresh bodies of crusaders arrived from Europe; Saladin remained ill, and unable to mount his horse, at Karouba; Frederic Barbarossa was leading on his troops towards Palestine; and Richard of England and Philip of France were preparing for their march in the same direction. Thus the year 1189 ended with fairer prospects for the kingdom of Jerusalem than any which had preceded it since the battle of Tiberiad; but the Christian vessels were forced by stress of weather to withdraw from before the port of Acre, and take refuge at Tyre, so that the

* Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrinorum.

besieged garrison was once more refreshed by abundant supplies of provisions.

The spring of 1190 was wet and boisterous, and Saladin still continued sickly; but the arrival of his brother Malek-Adel, with a powerful army under the walls of Acre, and the appearance of the Egyptian fleet off the port, gave courage to the garrison of the city, and no sign of success raised the expectations of the Christian forces. Numerous skirmishes of no great importance took place, both during the winter and the spring, in which it would appear, the balance of success turned somewhat in favour of the Christians. No great effort was made by the sultan till the commencement of summer; for the immense movement in the West induced Saladin, before he took the field in person, to send letters and messages to the caliph and all the Mussulman princes of the neighbouring countries, urging them in vehement terms to take arms for the defence of their religion.

As the finer season approached, the Christian fleet again appeared upon the seas, and the Egyptian vessels, inferior in number, abandoned the port of Acre, and set sail for Alexandria. The blockade of the besieged city was once more completed; and as soon as his various detachments had joined him, the sultan once more descended towards Acre, and took up the same position which he had before occupied. The camp of Saladin now rivalled that of the Christians, containing large squares and market-

places, bazaars and separate shops, of which the number amounted to seven thousand; more than a thousand baths were also to be found, and the number of farriers excited the astonishment of the historian.*

Every expedient was employed by Saladin to support and relieve the garrison of Acre. As the town was strictly blockaded, skilful swimmers were employed to convey letters, provisions, the materials for the Greek fire, and pigeons to carry intelligence from the town to the camp in time of need; and the army of the sultan harassed the attacking force, day and night, by continual skirmishes. But still the labours against the town proceeded: three large towers of wood were constructed, high enough to overtop the walls. The ground around was levelled; the ditch in several places was filled up; the towers were rolled forward; and, with mangonels and bows, a furious assault was carried on against the Saracens who defended the ramparts. Various efforts were made to burn with the Greek fire these moveable fortresses, but stores of vinegar and clay had been prepared, by means of which the prepared naphtha was extinguished as soon as it was poured upon the woodwork, and the town was upon the eve of being taken by storm, when a soldier from Damascus, who happened to be in the town, informed the governor that he had discovered a method of preparing the Greek fire in such a

* Abd-alatif.

manner that nothing could be successful in extinguishing it. After some hesitation, he was allowed to try the experiment upon one of the towers; and the Damascene accordingly cast a large pot of inflammable substances unlighted upon the machine. No effect was apparently produced; and the Christians were laughing at the vain attempt, when suddenly another pot containing the lighted naphtha was thrown from the walls, and the fire communicating with the unctuous liquids which had been cast down before, inflamed the whole. No means usually employed produced the result of extinguishing the fire; and so rapid was its progress, that many of the Christian soldiers were burned to death before they could escape from the tower. The second and the third of these vast engines were destroyed in the same manner; and the Mahommedans without, who were watching with the greatest anxiety, beheld the flaming masses fall one after another with inexpressible satisfaction.

From the moment these towers had been constructed, they had caused great alarm, both within the town and in the camp of the sultan, and immense efforts had been made by his army to force the Christians to raise the siege. For three days and three nights, we are assured, Saladin continued to pour masses of chosen troops upon the lines of Guy of Lusignan; but the Christian forces, divided into two bodies, defended their own intrenchments and carried on the assault upon the town at the same time. No impression whatever was made

upon their camp; and it was only when the crown of victory seemed within their grasp that the destruction of the towers snatched from them the result of all their labours. Another general battle took place almost immediately afterwards, the crusaders issuing forth from their intrenchments and attacking the right wing of Saladin's army, where they were at first victorious. Malek-Adel, who commanded in that quarter, was driven back; but the Christians immediately began to plunder the tents, especially seeking provisions, of which they were in great want; and taking advantage of the moment, the Mahommedan commander returned to the charge, seconded by Saladin in person and the main body of the Saracen troops. A tremendous slaughter then took place from the tents of Malek-Adel to the Christian camp. From seven to eight thousand perished, and the hopes and expectations of the Saracens were greatly raised, both by the victory they had gained and by the tidings, which arrived a few hours after, of the death of the Emperor Frederic, and the dispersion of a great part of his army.*

The depression of the Christians from this defeat was but temporary; for towards the end of July, Count Henry of Champagne appeared in the camp, with a considerable reinforcement; and the attack upon the town was renewed with even more vigour than before. The general command of the

* Emad-eddin.

army was placed under the Count; a better system of discipline was established; and a wiser administration provided not only for the operations of the day, but for the reception and organization of the fresh troops of crusaders which were constantly arriving from Europe. More than once the town was upon the point of being reduced by famine; but means were always found, sooner or later, to throw provisions into the place; and August and September passed in continual skirmishes, with very little advantage on either part.

Early in the month of October, the small remains of the German army, reduced, we are assured, to a tenth part of that which took the way to the Holy Land with Frederic Barbarossa, effected its junction with the besiegers of Acre. Frederic, Duke of Swabia, the deceased emperor's son, as was customary with newly-arrived crusaders, resolved to measure his strength at once with the sultan; and a long combat ensued, which only terminated at night by the retreat of the Germans into their intrenchments. New attacks upon the town followed, but with very little success; the resistance of the garrison was vigorous and determined, the military engines of the crusaders were burned or captured, and the carnage was often considerable.

A more terrible scourge than the sword, however, came at last to afflict the Christian army, and even affected, in a degree, that of Saladin.

Pestilence spread far and wide, produced, it is probable, partly by famine, partly by the stench of the unburied corpses. Saladin retired for a time to Sephorim, in order to place his army in a more healthy position during the rainy months; but we find that many of his emirs died around him, while he himself was severely afflicted by fever during the greater part of the winter. The plague among the Christians was still more severe, and we have received a long list of illustrious persons who died during the autumn of 1190; amongst whom were five archbishops, six bishops, and four abbots, besides an immense number of dukes, counts, and barons. The two principal Englishmen of note who here lost their lives, were Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the famous Ranulph de Glanville.* Nothing, however, seemed to stop the tide of the Crusade. Death, by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence, presented no terrors sufficient to counterbalance the enthusiasm of nations, and we find reinforcements, from every part of Europe, pouring into Palestine even to the latter end of 1190. As soon as the spring set in, the vigour of the war was renewed on both parts; the Christians attacked the town, and Saladin attacked the Christians; night or day there was no repose, and, although during the short period when the port was free, Saladin had renewed

* The terrible virulence of the pestilence is shown by our finding such entries as the following: "Anselmus de Monte Regali et tota familia ejus."

the garrison and relieved the long-besieged forces which had hitherto made so gallant a defence, the fall of Acre seemed every day drawing nearer, when at length, on the twentieth* of April, 1191, the sails of the French fleet appeared in sight, and Philip Augustus, with his army, landed on the shores of Syria. He was followed very speedily by the Count of Flanders; but the latter was seized, soon after his arrival, with the disease prevalent in the camp, and expired in a few days. We are assured by contemporary historians, that, the moment the eyes of Philip of Flanders were closed, the French monarch seized his treasures, and resolved to return to Europe with all speed, in order to make himself master of the large and important territories left by the deceased prince;† but many other causes probably combined to render a longer stay in the Holy Land unpleasant to Philip Augustus. Of these I shall speak hereafter, as I must now turn to notice an event which, by its results, spread fresh dissension amongst the Christian princes assembled for the deliverance of Palestine, and greatly affected the whole course of Richard's after-life.

Amongst all the distinguished personages who died during the siege of Acre, there was no one

* Rigordus says that the king landed on the thirteenth, and I am inclined to think that this date may be correct, although the historiographer was not present, and Boha-eddin, who gives the time of Philip's coming as above stated, was an eye-witness.

† Hoveden.

whose life was more valuable than that of Sybilla, Queen of Jerusalem, not because she possessed any personal qualities which commanded respect, but because her existence was the only common bond which united the great majority of the barons of Palestine in support of her husband, Guy. Death, however, which spares not the palaces of kings, reached Sybilla in the camp before Acre; and the plague spread to her four infant children, who were consigned to the grave a few days after their mother.* Guy had been crowned King of Jerusalem, and fealty had been sworn to him by many of the barons of Palestine; but the title of Sybilla's younger sister, Isabella, to the throne, which had been considered by many even better than that of the late queen, at the death of Baldwin, might now well be urged, as the sole surviving descendant of Almeric. She had been married, at a very early age, to Humphrey of Thoron, the unworthy inheritor of a great name.† But it would appear that her affection for her husband was not particularly strong; and the ambition of Conrad of Montferrat saw a by-path to the royal dignity opened by the death of Sybilla, and the contempt into which the husband of

* Some authors mention only two children, and it is not improbable that some had died before their mother, but it is quite clear that the race of Sybilla was now extinct.

† Bernard, the treasurer, gives the following very unprepossessing character of this prince:—"Car Honfroi estoit si couart que ja ne porroit terre tenier."

Isabella had fallen. This path was difficult to tread, indeed: for the first step was to procure the double divorce of the princess and Humphrey of Thoron, and of himself and his own wife, whom he had left in Constantinople. The next was to marry Isabella himself; and the last, to induce the nobles of the land and the crusading princes to declare the crown fallen from the head of Guy of Lusignan, by the death of Sybilla, and his own title good, as the husband of Isabella. The divorce of Humphrey and Isabella was obtained without difficulty; for the ready co-operation of the princess had probably been insured beforehand; and, whatever was the pretence put forth by the clergy who pronounced the sentence, the arguments of Conrad seem to have been solely of a military and political nature. He represented that Humphrey was incapable of serving the Christian cause, and that he himself was both capable and willing. He even took advantage of circumstances which had greatly diminished his own popularity, to affect the leaders by hopes and fears. He had withdrawn from the siege of Acre, at a moment of the greatest danger and the greatest need. During a long time he had neglected to send supplies to the army of Guy, had made no effort to prevent it from perishing with famine, and had been even suspected of too close an intimacy with Saladin.* Now, however, he prepared the way with gifts,

* Hoveden.

and followed it with promises. He engaged the mother of the princess in his interest; and he vowed that, if he obtained the hand of Isabella, he would immediately send immense supplies to the army from Tyre, would apply his utmost energies to insure success to the Christian arms, and would hold no more correspondence with the sultan. Humphrey of Thoron seems to have been not at all unwilling to part with a cold and indifferent wife, or a doubtful title to a lost kingdom. The barons of Palestine were not famed for scrupulous morality, and did not at all object to a double and causeless divorce, or an adulterous marriage. The clergy, as was always the case, found legal motives for a course which suited their interests and probably filled their purses; and, with the exception of a few resolute priests, who expressed their disapprobation loudly, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who excommunicated the young Lord of Montferrat, no one was found to offer any serious opposition to the marriage, which took place, we are assured, the very day after the divorce had been pronounced.

As soon as Conrad's objects were gained, his promises were forgotten. He boldly called himself King of Jerusalem, began to exercise sovereignty, and, if we are to believe the accounts which were evidently current in the camp, he not only neglected to send the promised supplies, but impeded others who were willing to carry provisions to the forces before Acre. Nothing was heard throughout the

Christian host but curses upon the Marquis of Tyre; and, under the horrors and distress of pestilence and famine, some thousands of the soldiery passed over to the camp of Saladin, and embraced the Mahommedan religion. Notwithstanding all these causes of complaint against him, Conrad once more appeared before Acre; but the cause of his coming was to demand the crown. Guy of Lusignan resisted, with the bold and determined spirit which he had lately shown on many occasions: the Germans in the camp, it would appear, adhered to Conrad; the English, the French, and some of the Italians, supported Guy; the barons of Palestine were divided; confusion and disorder were added to the evils which the crusaders had already suffered; and the danger of civil war was imminent. The wiser and more moderate leaders advised that the differences between the two claimants should be referred to the judgment of the Kings of France and England, who were daily expected; but on the arrival of Philip Augustus, his leaning towards the party of his kinsman Conrad was so evident, that on hearing of Richard's sojourn in Cyprus, Guy of Lusignan put to sea with a few galleys, to make his own cause good with the lion-hearted King of England.

The reinforcement of the Christian host, brought by the King of France, enabled the crusaders to push forward the siege of Acre with renewed vigour; and the French historians declare, Philip had made

such successful efforts, that nothing was wanting to the capture of the city but a general assault. They, moreover, assure us, that having promised to divide the glory of success with his ally, he, in consequence, delayed the attack, in expectation of the King of England's arrival.* The narratives of Bernard, the treasurer, and of the Arabian authors, however, do not mention these facts, and seem to attribute no very important result to the operations of Philip against Acre. Such was the state of affairs, when, on the fifth day of June, 1191, Richard set sail from Cyprus, and approached the shores of Syria.

* Rigordus.

BOOK XVII.

THE fleet of Richard laid its course straight across the narrow sea between Cyprus and the Holy Land, and first came in sight of the shores of Palestine off Margat. Thence coasting along, the crusaders passed by Tortosa, Tripoli, Biblis, and Berytes; but in the neighbourhood of the latter city, somewhere between it and Sidon, a large three-masted vessel hove in sight, and apparently powerfully armed. Considerable difficulty was found in ascertaining to what country the ship belonged, for her commanders endeavoured to make it appear that she appertained to the King of France. The deceit, however, was discovered; and it was found that she was a Saracen vessel, which had been sent to the relief of Acre, filled with troops and stores.

The light-armed galleys of the King of England instantly commenced the attack, and attempted to board the Mahommedan ship. Her sides, however,

were so high, and the shower of arrows and stones so thick, that the crews of the galleys could not effect their object, and were forced to abandon the attempt. Richard then ordered his own ship to pursue the enemy; but the same impediments still presented themselves, and the king's seamen began to show some disinclination to the task, till the enraged monarch threatened to crucify the whole of them unless the enemy's vessel was captured. The attack was instantly renewed, and a number of the English warriors made their way to the deck, where a bloody fight took place, with very equal success, till at length the king commanded his galleys to attack the Mahommedan vessel with their iron beaks. The sides were pierced in many places, and the water flowing in, the vessel sunk. A multitude of the Saracens threw themselves into the sea, but were all drowned or killed but thirty-five, who received quarter by the king's command.*

* The following bombastic and inaccurate account of this transaction is found in Mills' History of the Crusades. "In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the water should rush in: they then leaped on the decks of the English galleys. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom." This is not historical. The author cites Hoveden, Vinesauf, and Bromton; but neither in Hoveden, Vinesauf, nor Bromton, is there one word to justify these charges against Richard. Hoveden and Bromton say that the Saracens

It was then found that the stores which the vessel had been conveying to Acre, comprised, besides food, an immense number of military engines, a large quantity of Greek fire, and also two hundred most poisonous serpents, intended to be sent forth into the Christian camp.* The Saracens fought with gallant determination, and apparently from the first had taken their resolution rather to perish than surrender. We are not informed whether the vessel was manned by any of the renegades who, having fled from the camp of Guy of Lusignan in the time of the famine, had embraced Islamism as the only means of escaping from starvation; but we know that those unhappy men were frequently em-

threw themselves naked into the sea when their ship was perforated by the beaks of the galleys; that a number of them were killed by the sailors, but the rest saved. No order, on the part of Richard, for killing them, is mentioned by any one. Those who were saved, we are informed by Vinesauf, were spared by the express command of the king; but nothing is said by him, or any one else, of their having been spared for their ransom. The only words that I can discover in any of the authors cited which can have led to the assertion that the emir himself ordered the vessel to be sunk, are the following in Vinesauf:— "Turci vero ab ipsius navis interioribus prorumpentes resistebant conglobati, eligentes aut fortiter mori aut adversarios viriliter repellere." I need not point out to the reader that if Mr. Mills founds his statement upon this, he must have laboured under an extraordinary misconception of the meaning of the author.

* Not only Vinesauf, but the Cardinal James of Vitry mentions the above curious fact.

ployed by Saladin in his naval operations for the relief of Acre, and if such was the case in the present instance, it is not wonderful that they should fight with the determination of despair.

After this not unimportant victory, the fleet of the English king took its course towards Tyre, and anchored off that city for the night. It would appear, indeed, that Richard's reception by the lord of the place was not very cordial; and some authors even assert that Conrad refused to admit him into the town. On the following morning early, the fleet again weighed anchor, and sailing as before, along the coast, beheld the city of Acre, after a few hours' easy navigation. Its banner-covered towers seem to have excited great admiration in the English crusaders; and the Christian camp, which swept round it on the land side, containing troops from every part of Europe, in all the gay dresses of those times, with the forces of Saladin encamped upon the slope of the hills beyond, formed a spectacle at once gorgeous and fearful. Never at any period, from the commencement of the Crusades, had such a force, on the one side or the other, swept the plains or covered the mountains of Syria; never had such a multitude of races, such differences of tongues and manners, such a variety of arms and dresses, been arrayed, either on the Christian or Mahommedan part. Within the city lay the beleaguered garrison, consisting of picked soldiers from the host of Islamism. Before the port, appeared the Chris-

tian fleets, denying entrance to all succour. Beneath the walls, English and French, Germans and Flemings, Spaniards and Burgundians, Italians and Sicilians, the wild inhabitant of Finland, the tall and stalwart Danes, the inhabitants of far northern isles, even, it is said, of Iceland itself, together with the gay and luxurious barons of Palestine, the proud, fierce Templars, and the shrewder, but not less selfish Hospitallers, closed in, rank upon rank, around the devoted town, determined to recover it for the Cross, or to perish in the attempt. The Crescent gleamed above. Egyptians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, the citizens of Damascus, Turks and Saracens, tribes from Armenia and Asia Minor, the far dwellers of Moussoul, and the swarthy wanderers of the desert, together, alas! with many a renegade from the Christian camp, spread out under the banners of yellow, and green, and black, that waved in a long-continued line from the heights of Mount Carmel to the sea on the other side. And now a new army appeared, superior in point of numbers, if we are to believe contemporary accounts, to any division which had yet sat down before Acre, and another monarch took the field against Saladin, whose deeds in the Holy Land were destined to leave behind them a renown fearful to the children of the Islamite, even to the present day; but dissensions were destined to snatch away the fruits which energy and courage obtained, and disunion to deprive the Christian force of that power which its numbers, its

discipline, and its courage must have bestowed, had its leaders acted in harmony with each other.

Berengaria and the Queen of Sicily, with a large division of Richard's fleet, had reached Acre before the English monarch himself; and with knightly courtesy and grace, Philip Augustus, laying aside the memory of his sister's wrongs, went down to the shore to meet the fair bride of his ally, and carried her in his arms from the boat to the land.* The ground for Richard's camp was then allotted, the royal tent erected, and when the English sovereign at length appeared, the princes of the crusading force, with the King of France at their head, proceeded to receive and welcome him; and conducted him with honour and acclamations to his quarters. The fame of his military exploits was not only general in the Christian camp, but had even reached to the Saracens; and while his arrival spread joy and exultation amongst the hosts of the Crusade, it produced deep depression in the Moslem tents, and in the city of Acre. "This king," says Boha-eddin, "was terrible in strength and proved in valour, and unconquerable in resolution. He had already rendered his name great in previous wars, and although he was inferior to the King of France in dignity and dominion, he was richer than him, braver, and more experienced in war." The same author informs us that, from the

* Bernard, the Treasurer.

moment of Richard's arrival, terror and consternation spread amongst the Moslem, and only Saladin remained calm and firm, showing no sign of apprehension, but expressing his trust in God.

A whole night of rejoicing, throughout the extent of the Christian camp, followed the arrival of Richard before Acre. Songs and processions, with beating drums and sounding trumpets, were heard and seen in every part; and as it would appear that Richard brought with him vast stores of provisions from Cyprus, and distributed them with a liberal hand, the people might well rejoice on the arrival of a monarch who had just conquered a rich and fertile island, the possession of which would remove the necessity of depending upon Tyre for supplies. The wine-cup flowed and the feast took place, and the whole camp was illuminated during the night, marking out, for the eyes of the watchers in the Mahommedan camp above, the immense multitude of foemen that swarmed below, and the vast accession of strength which they had that day received. The greater part of that night, we are told, was spent by Richard and Philip Augustus in laying out their plans for the farther attack of the city; but, from this point, up to the period of the departure of the King of France from Syria, the accounts of the French and English historians are totally at variance respecting the conduct of Richard and Philip. The statements of Rigordus are so brief and imperfect, that they cannot be received as even

shaking the testimony of eye-witnesses both amongst the Saracens and amongst the English crusaders. The account of William the Breton, besides its bombastic exaggeration, sets out with a false assertion,* so distinctly rebutted by all authentic narratives that it renders the whole unworthy of credit; and William of Nangis, although his chronicle seems more sincere, is so greatly mistaken in his dates† that he affords very little assistance to the historian. In all the events, however, which succeeded Richard's appearance under the walls of Acre, Vinesauf is in a very great measure corroborated by the Arabians, of whom more than one was, like himself, an eye-witness. They saw from different points, it is true, and the accounts of each are of course coloured by religious and national prejudice, but in every page of the Mahommedan writers, and also very generally in Bernard the Treasurer, we find the strongest proofs of the English historian's sincerity and veracity.

Philip Augustus had not been inactive after his arrival. Boha-eddin tells us, that from that mo-

* He says, that before Richard's arrival the walls of Acre were thrown down in every part, and that both Saladin and the garrison were treating for the surrender of the place, but that Philip would not receive the submission of Acre till the English monarch was present. In fact, this statement of the old Breton is the complete type of a modern French bulletin.

† This author declares that Richard did not set sail from Sicily till the month of August.

ment the attack against the city went on night and day; and it would appear from the account of the same author, that notwithstanding all which has been said regarding Philip's moderation, in waiting for the arrival of Richard, a general assault of the walls took place four days before* the King of England appeared in the Christian camp. No impression was made, however, upon the defences of the place, and the Arabians even assert that Philip attempted to negotiate with Saladin, who repulsed his envoy haughtily. Such was the state of the siege when Richard arrived; and, although Rigordus asserts that the King of France had battered the walls of Acre so successfully that nothing was wanting but a general assault to the capture of the place, if we are to believe the Arabians, Philip had left nothing undone to take it before the appearance of his ally, but had been completely frustrated by the gallantry and determination of the garrison within the walls, and the vigour and activity of the Mahommedan army without. Even on the very day before Richard's arrival at Acre, we find that an immense moveable tower of four stages, severally of wood, lead, iron, and brass, was moved up within five cubits of the walls, the battlements of which it completely commanded,

* Richard arrived on the 13 Gioumadi the first, otherwise the eighth of June, and a general assault took place on the 9 Gioumadi the first, after the arrival of Philip Augustus, and before that of Richard.

but the Greek fire was again employed by the garrison, and the engine was totally destroyed.*

The rivalry between Richard and the King of France began almost immediately; their first interview was full of friendly expressions and promises of co-operation, but the French monarch had taken a great number of soldiers into his pay at the rate of three besants per man, and Richard had scarcely set his foot on the shores of Syria, when the whole mass of the Pisans volunteered to enter his service for the term of the Crusade. Richard, also, not to be outdone by the King of France, offered to all who would serve him the still higher pay of four besants; and as the King of France had by this time openly espoused the cause of Conrad of Montferrat, while Richard had brought back Guy of Lusignan from Cyprus, more serious subjects of dissension were likely to appear every day, when the English monarch was suddenly seized with illness, and remained for some time incapable of any active exertion. He caused, nevertheless, his mangonels and other large military machines to be erected and put into a proper state for battering the gates of the town, and Philip, eager to overcome the obstinate resistance of the enemy, proposed an immediate assault. The King of England replied, that the state of his health, and the absence of many of his best troops, who had not yet reached

* Boha-eddin.

the Syrian shore, would not permit of his undertaking the attack immediately;* and Philip determined to storm the place without waiting for the recovery of his ally. It became generally rumoured afterwards, that illness was only an excuse, upon the part of Richard; and Rigordus does not even mention that he was ill, or pretended to be ill at all, merely stating that he refused to join his troops to those of the King of France for the purpose of storming the town. James of Vitry, certainly with greater impartiality, and probably with greater truth, throws the blame upon both kings, and shows that the opportunity of regaining the Holy Land was lost by their dissensions. Nevertheless, not the slightest doubt can exist that Richard was seriously ill at this period; and we find, from the Arabian historians, that he himself or his attendants, during

* This is the first attack upon the town which Vinesauf mentions, after Richard's arrival at Acre. Many transactions, however, of different kinds had taken place in the meantime; and the Arabian historians speak of several very severe combats, after Richard's arrival, and before this great effort on the part of the King of the French, which was made, according to the Iter regis Hierosolymitanum, on the first of July, the Monday after the festival of St. John the Baptist. According to Bohaeddin, there was a severe combat on the fourteenth of June, (19 Gioumadi the first,) and again, a general assault upon the town on the eighteenth, (23 Gioumadi the first;) and the Mahommedans also generally say, that from the moment of Richard's appearance before the walls the garrison had no peace from the continual attacks of the Christians.

his sickness, made use of several curious stratagems to obtain from Saladin poultry, fruits, and snow, which were not to be procured in the Christian camp at Acre, but were necessary to the English monarch in the fever by which he was afflicted.*

The attack of the King of France was unsuccessful, though it was carried on for several hours with great gallantry, and it would appear that one of the principal French nobles, with his followers, forced his way into the town and was killed between the walls.† While the general body of the crusading troops marched to the assault, Geoffrey of Lusignan remained with a chosen body to defend the trenches, a task of no slight importance. It had been previously arranged between Saladin and the garrison of Acre, that as soon as the city was assailed and in danger, the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets from the walls should give notice of the attack to the Mahommedan troops upon the hills above. With unremitting activity and perseverance the great sultan had never failed, at the note of peril, to pour down his battalions upon the Christian lines; and no sooner did the roar of the attabals and

* Boha-eddin and other Arabians say that Richard was at the point of death.

† Vinesauf gives a very impartial account of this attack, seeming to find as much pleasure in describing the gallant array and valiant efforts of the French troops, as he does in expatiating upon the exploits of Richard and the English crusaders.

trumpets reach his tent than he mounted in haste and led down his forces in person to create a diversion in favour of the beleaguered city. The engagement which followed seems to have been one of the most furious and resolute of all the many fights which took place under the walls of Acre. Geoffrey of Lusignan conducted the defence of the lines with skill and courage, which calls forth the wondering exclamations of the chronicler. A part of the French troops returned to his aid from the attack of the city, the rest of the crusading force assisted, and the trenches were maintained till nightfall, notwithstanding all the efforts of Saladin, who galloped, we are told, from rank to rank "with the fury of a lioness who has lost her young," encouraging his troops to the attack, wherever he saw them waver or retreat.* The defence of the city, however, had been resolute and successful; the French troops were forced to retreat; a number of Philip's military machines were destroyed by the Greek fire, and the monarch himself was so mortified at the bad success of his separate attack that he is said to have fallen ill from grief. It is more than probable, however, that he was at this time attacked by the fever which had been prevalent in the camp, though he suffered in a less degree than Richard, and was much sooner convalescent.

The illness of the English monarch had been very

* Boha-eddin.

severe, and probably his recovery was owing to the kindness and liberality of an enemy. The burning heat of Syria, the close, hot air of the camp, and the little skill of the Christian physicians of that day, all tended to aggravate the disease under which the King of England laboured; but, either at the request of Richard, or from a feeling of generous sympathy, Saladin himself sent daily to his great adversary presents of fruit and ice, infinitely more valuable to Richard at that moment than gold or precious stones.*

The recovery of Richard was slow, and he remained for many days after all danger was passed in a state of languor which unfitted him for active exertion. In the meantime, however, his troops were not idle; his great military engines plied the walls day and night, and especially discharged the masses of stone with which they were loaded against a part of the defences called the *Cursed Tower*, so named from a tradition that it had been built with the thirty pieces of silver paid by the Jews to the traitor Judas. The effect of a well-directed and continuous attack

* The fact of this act of courtesy on the part of Saladin is mentioned by most Christian authors, amongst the rest by Hoveden and Bromton. Vinesauf speaks of nectar having been received by the two kings during their sickness, by which he probably means iced-sherbet. Boha-eddin and the other Arabian writers imply that Richard sent to ask the sultan for these refreshing luxuries, but the Latin authors speak of them as spontaneous gifts.

upon one point soon became manifest, and it would appear not only that the discharge of the English engines was more skilfully conducted, but that the engines themselves were much more powerful than those which had been employed previous to Richard's arrival. They would carry, we are told, the heavy stone-shot, which Richard had brought as ballast from Messina, into the very interior of the market-place of the city; and by one ball, Vinesauf assures us, twelve Saracens were killed. Innumerable combats took place, and every sort of means were employed against the walls; the military engines called the Cat, the Sow, and the Belfry, were all tried, but on most occasions the showers of Greek fire rapidly destroyed those machines which approached near the battlements, and Philip had still the mortification of seeing all his efforts frustrated. Early in July another effort was made by the French troops to take the city by storm. Part of the walls were undermined, and being supported by thick posts of wood, as the miners proceeded, bundles of fagots were added, and then lighted, but the result was not such as had been expected. When the supporting pillars were burned through, the wall, it is true, subsided, but without falling, merely inclining a little outwards, but at the same time opposing an impassable barrier to the Christian troops. In another place, however, the French soldiery attempted to scale the walls, led on by the celebrated Alberic Clement, Marshal of France,

who had sworn either to die or enter Acre that day. He succeeded, we find, in fixing one ladder, and instantly mounted sword in hand. The French knights, never wanting in courage, though too often in discretion, followed in great numbers; the ladder gave way under their weight, precipitating the whole troop to the ground, with the exception of their leader, who remained alone upon the walls, exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. For some time he continued to fight gallantly against a host of foes, but at length fell, overpowered by numbers, but mourned by the whole Christian host. We do not find that any effort was made from below to save him, by raising fresh ladders, but the Christian camp was at the same time fiercely attacked from without,* and the shower of arrows and Greek fire from the walls rendered all near approach most perilous. It was reserved for Richard to avenge the death of Alberic Clement; for the repulse of the French had hardly taken place, and the King of England himself was still in a state of great weakness, when he

* Vinesauf says that this assault upon the Christian intrenchments was led by an emir named Kahadin; but the Arabian authors universally say that it was Saladin himself who conducted the attack, and add that he was badly seconded. Bohaeddin mentions with admiration the feats of the Christian warriors in defence of their lines, and declares that one of the leaders was seen to be struck with arrows or stones more than fifty times without yielding a step, till at length a pot of Greek fire was thrown upon him, which consumed him entirely.

was found present at the spot where his engines were erected, directing their aim, and causing others to be constructed. Amongst the rest was one of those vast machines with many stages, which I have before mentioned, and which had been pushed very near to the walls. To its shelter Richard caused himself to be conveyed on silken cushions, and taking a cross-bow from one of the archers, he employed himself in discharging it at every Saracen who appeared upon the walls. It is curious that this weapon, from which he afterwards received his death wound, was a favourite one of Richard, and that he restored it to general use, at least in his own country, after it had nearly been abandoned. Seated under his large tower, but yet not completely sheltered from the arrows of the foe, Richard continued to annoy the enemy for several hours, killing many with his own hand. It is particularly noticed that a very fierce and powerful Saracen, who ventured to come forth upon the walls covered with the arms of Alberic Clement, fell immediately from a bolt out of Richard's cross-bow.

The presence of the king acted as the strongest encouragement to his engineers; and at length not only the Cursed Tower but a considerable part of the wall was battered down by the petraries of the English army. An immediate assault was ordered, and early in the morning the forces of Richard marched to the attack, under the banners of the Earl of Leicester, Andrew of Cavegin, and

Hugo le Brune, supported by the warlike Bishop of Salisbury and the whole force of the Pisans. It does not appear that the French gave the slightest assistance to Richard's troops; but it is stated elsewhere that a general agreement had been made between the two kings, to the effect that while the soldiers of one nation mounted to the assault, the other should guard the trenches. Whether this was really the case or not, it was remarked with severe censure by the best informed contemporaries, that Richard and Philip made no simultaneous effort to take the town, and that while one assailed it valiantly, the other remained perfectly idle.* On the present occasion the Saracens crowded to the breach, and more than once the English, and the Pisans who seconded them in the most gallant manner, rushed up to the assault, and were driven back. The combat was determined and furious; but it was decided by the terrible Greek fire, which, cast in showers upon the assailants, destroyed them by a horrible death, notwithstanding the protection of their armour.†

* William of Newbury.

† The little history of Richard the First, which I have before mentioned, making a great many fanciful additions to the plain statements of contemporaries, declares, in regard to the Greek fire, that it "ran down the armour of the Christians in a blazing stream, and, wherever it entered a joint or a rivet, burned to the bone." The writer seems to have forgotten that there were no joints or rivets in the armour of that day. Plate armour was not introduced till long afterwards, even for the elbows or knees; the hauberk, or shirt of chain-mail

Had the city been attacked at the same time by the French army, leaving the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, and the Barons of Palestine and the mixed multitude of Crusaders from Spain, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, to defend the trenches, there can be little doubt that Acre would have been taken by assault that day. Richard's troops, however, were unsuccessful; the greater part of the host are said to have been at dinner* while their English comrades attacked the town, and the assault was abandoned after several hours' hard fighting, in the course of which we are informed, by a Mahommedan author,† the English army lost six of its most illustrious warriors.

At the end of the Christian efforts, the garrison of Acre discovered how great had been their danger. A large part of the wall was in ruins, one of their principal towers fallen, and the chief defence they had left, as they clearly perceived, was the dissension which existed between the Kings of France and England. Great scarcity reigned in the

was the only defensive covering then used, and it may be easily understood that the Greek fire found its way through this texture more easily than it could have done through a coat of plate. The simple words of Vinesauf are as follows: "Turcorum multitudo jugiter crescebat ignem Græcum etiam jaculantium in ipsos, cujus incendium tandem non ferentes Armigeros retrocedere coegit, et a turri descendere, quorum etiam nonnulli armis cæsi sunt et incendio perniciocissimo combusti."

* Vinesauf. † Boha-eddin.

town; the citizens were full of panic; the garrison itself desponded; and the commandant of the city, Saif-eddin Maschtoub, and the emir Caracousch, the famous engineer, took the opportunity of a temporary suspension of attack to demand a parley, and visit the tent of the King of France.* They then offered the two kings, to surrender the city, unless it should be succoured by Saladin immediately, upon the sole condition that all the Mahommedans within the walls should be allowed to depart, with their arms and baggage. The offer, however, was refused, and the Christian monarchs demanded the whole territory which had belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem at the time of the Crusade of Louis the Young,† together with the restitution of the Holy Cross, and the liberation of all Christian prisoners. This was undoubtedly an excessive demand, with which the emirs had no power to comply; but it does not appear at all clear by whom this concession was required; for the Arabian historians differ totally from the European writers upon the subject, and the Europeans from each other. Vinesauf says, that Philip Augustus and almost all the French were willing to accept the terms offered by the governors of Acre, but that

* Vinesauf disfigures the names of the two emirs, and calls them Mestoc and Caracois.

† Hoveden. He states that the two emirs came to negotiate with both the kings, and generally that both the kings refused their petition.

Richard refused anything but the unconditional surrender of the city, which was already reduced to an indefensible state. Richard of Devizes gives much the same account as Vinesauf, and Hoveden speaks of both the monarchs as acting perfectly in harmony; but the Arabian authors give a very different account; represent Maschtoub as negotiating with the King of France alone, and Philip as making a brutal and insolent reply, which called from the governor a threat not to surrender the city till each man of the garrison had killed fifty of the enemy and had himself fallen.

Certain it is, that when the emirs* returned to the city, they found that the hesitation and terror which always follow the commencement of negotiations for surrender on the part of a place closely pressed, had taken complete possession of the garrison and people of Acre. Many of them fled during the subsequent night. Some of them reached the camp of Saladin, and were received with angry reproaches by the sultan, and punished by the deprivation of all they held under him.† Others perished by the way, either in the waters or by the sword of the Christians;‡ but still more sought safety in apostasy; and entering the Christian camp,

* The Arabians in general only mention one of the commanders in Acre, namely, Maschtoub, as having taken part in these negotiations, but all the Christian authorities state that Caracousch was also present.

† Emad-eddin. ‡ Ibn Alatir.

embraced, or pretended to embrace, the religion of the enemy.*

Although marvels were by this time a little discredited; though the appearances of devils, of angels, and of saints were by no means so frequent as in the days of the first Crusade; though the fumes of drowsy indigestion no longer passed for visions of prophetic truth; yet miraculous interpositions were not wanting either in the Mussulman or the Christian camp. On the 5th of July, in the middle of the night, an extraordinary sound was heard in both camps; the ground shook, and the excited imagination of the soldiers took advantage of an earthquake to frame dreams of success for their own consolation. Angelic soldiers, habited in green, were seen by the Moslem to enter the city, while the Virgin Mary descended, for the crusaders, upon the trembling earth, and promised speedy success against the enemies of the Cross. But the walls of Acre were in ruins, and the vision of the Saracens was but one of the hallucinations of despair. The commanders in Acre wrote a letter to Saladin, informing him that they had sworn to die sooner than surrender, and beseeching him only to afford a diversion in their favour, that they might hold out the city to the last.† It would appear, however, that several communications took place between various emirs within the town and their great monarch. The

* Vinesauf. † Boha-eddin.

demands of the Christians for the cession of the whole of Palestine were made known to Saladin, and rejected by him, although he was most anxious to save the devoted garrison which had so long and resolutely defended the besieged city. After having offered the crusaders to surrender Acre, with all that it contained, except the garrison,* and to exchange a Christian prisoner for every Mussulman within the town,† which proposal was rejected, he ordered Maschtoub and his companions to issue forth in a body during the night at an hour named, and endeavour to cut their way through the Christian camp, taking the road by the sea. He promised at the same time to descend from the heights, with his whole army, and favour the efforts of the garrison by a fierce attack upon the Christian lines. This plan was accordingly followed; but, to the surprise of the Mahommedans, the crusaders were found prepared both to repel the troops of the sultan and to drive the garrison back within the walls. The combat was furious and long, but Saladin retreated worsted from the engagement, and the emirs were forced to lead back their dispirited forces to the shelter of the city.

One of the most curious circumstances connected with the siege of Acre explains the state of preparation in which the Christian army was found. It would appear, from all accounts, that there was

* Boha-eddin. † Ibn Alatir.

treachery in both hosts. It was remarked by the crusaders that wherever the banner of Conrad of Montferrat appeared in the attacks upon the city, there was peace around it; and it is also distinctly stated that on the occasion when Alberic Clement was left alone upon the walls, Conrad and his forces retreated from the attack, and refused to shoot an arrow or hurl a stone at the Mussulmans on the battlements.* At the same time the crusaders derived information of everything of importance which passed within the town, from anonymous letters, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, shot into their camp from the walls during the night. These letters uniformly began with the peculiar formula—"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen;" and the writer stated that he was a Christian; but neither before nor after the capture of the city, could it be discovered to whom the crusading princes were indebted for such intelligence.† That he stood high in the confidence of the Mahommedan leaders, there can be no doubt, for their most secret enterprises were all known to him; and it is by no means clear that he was not one of the commanders of the Mussulman troops, for amongst the Arabian princes there were several who had embraced Christianity without daring to avow the fact. Even the famous Kilig-arslan himself, the Sultan of Iconium, is somewhat more than

* Hoveden. † Ibid.

suspected of having followed this course; so much so indeed, that Nour-eddin compelled him at one time publicly to renew his profession of faith in the Prophet of Islam.

Driven back into the town, perishing with hunger, with their defences battered down, and their friends from without repulsed, the garrison of Acre had no choice but to make the best terms they could, and to surrender. Accordingly, on Friday, the twelfth of July, the Kings of France and England, with all the princes of the crusading army, assembled in the tent of the Grand Master of the Temple, and there received the commanders of the garrison of Acre. After some debate, it was agreed that the city, with all which it contained, should be immediately surrendered; that two hundred and fifty noble Christian captives, actually in Acre, should be given up without ransom; that the Mahommedan inhabitants of the town, leaving all their arms, goods, and provisions, should go forth, with merely their clothing; that two hundred thousand besants should be paid within a certain term, for the redemption of the garrison; that the Holy Cross should be restored by Saladin; and that a number of Christian captives, in the hands of the sultan, which number is differently stated by almost every Christian and every Mahommedan historian, varying from one thousand to two thousand five hundred, should be brought to Acre, and set free at the term fixed for the payment of the

money.* It is necessary here to remark, that the negotiations were conducted and the convention settled by means of an interpreter, and that Saladin himself was not a party to the act. It was distinctly stated, however, that the emirs and the troops of the garrison should abide as prisoners in the hands of the crusading princes, and if the money was not paid, and the other terms fulfilled, at the period or periods fixed, they were to remain at the mercy of their captors.

While these transactions were taking place in the Christian camp, Saladin was making eager preparations upon the hills to execute one last and resolute attempt for the deliverance of his faithful garrison. He had called together his council, and from the tent where their consultations were going on, the crusading lines and the desolated city of Acre, with its ruined walls, could be seen by the princes of Islam. The opinions of the councillors were divided. Some were eager for an instant attack upon the enemy's intrenchments; some represented that, after the experience they had gained of the valour and discipline of the Christians, and the

* Some say this term was forty days after the capitulation (Hoveden); some say one month (Vinesauf); some say that half the sum was to be paid in a month, and the prisoners to be delivered at the same time, and that the remainder of the ransom was to be liquidated at the end of two months (Ibn Alatir).

knowledge possessed of their vast numbers, it would be only sacrificing the troops of the true faith to engage in an enterprise that must be unsuccessful; but in the midst of their deliberations, strange movements were seen in the plains below, and suddenly the Crescent fell, and the standard of the Cross waved upon the crumbling battlements of Acre.*

* Boha-eddin. Emad-eddin.

BOOK XVIII.

In order to give a continuous narrative of the military events connected with the siege of Acre, I have omitted many occurrences affecting Richard, and only lightly touched upon others which now demand a full detail. The feelings of friendly regard which had once been apparent in the conduct of Philip Augustus to Richard Cœur de Lion, if ever in reality they existed at all, had been greatly weakened by the circumstances which attended their mutual stay in Sicily, and vanished entirely during the siege of Acre. It is probable that the King of France did not at all regret that Richard lingered some time behind him at Messina; for there is every proof that he plied the walls of Ptolemais incessantly after his arrival, and much reason to suppose that although he affected to wait for the coming of the English king, he would not have scrupled to take the city by storm during Richard's absence, had he found it possible to effect that object. Perceiving, how-

ever, that his strength was not sufficient for the purpose, we may well suppose that the French sovereign was somewhat discontented that his ally should remain in Cyprus, marching from conquest to conquest, while he sat foiled beneath the battlements of Acre. Richard, on the other hand, had been assured in Cyprus that the King of France only waited for his arrival to complete a conquest which was already secure, and it is very possible that the English prince was not satisfied with the implied boast, and did not credit altogether the assertion of Philip's power to take the place. The inspection of the walls upon his arrival, which showed none of those formidable breaches he had been taught to expect, must have proved to him that Acre was not yet defenceless, and that the siege had not yet nearly reached its end. There might be some satisfaction in withholding his troops from the assault, when the French mounted to storm the walls; some bitter pleasure in allowing them to prove their boast that Acre was in their power.

With such feelings, the two kings approached questions of great difficulty, amongst the first of which was that of the possession of the throne of Jerusalem, and with it were combined a thousand others, both delicate and dangerous. The Marquis of Montferrat was nearly related to the King of France, and Philip had at once espoused his cause. Guy of Lusignan, on the contrary, was born a vassal of the Kings of England, Dukes of

Aquitaine, and consequently had some claim to their assistance in support of his rights. The representations which he had made at Cyprus, and perhaps, also, a consideration of the title under which he had possessed, and still demanded the throne, induced Richard to maintain his cause warmly. It is not necessary here to consider intricate questions of feudal law; but I may briefly state the pleas of either party. Guy of Lusignan had been placed upon the throne of Jerusalem, not merely as the husband of Sybilla, but with some of the forms of election, which, it would indeed appear, were fundamental in the constitution of the kingdom; and he now claimed to hold the crown, notwithstanding her death, by right of his coronation, which, as I have already stated in another place, was solemnized after that of Sybilla. It is clear that a great number of the barons of Palestine were not present at the coronation; but that fact could scarcely invalidate his title, when a number of them were consenting witnesses, and all of them, not even excepting the celebrated Baldwin of Ramla, did homage to Guy at an after period. It is evident, from every account, that the act of homage was performed to Guy, and not to Sybilla; that Guy had, in short, been recognised as king, without any stipulations regarding the succession to the throne on the death of his wife; and although it was urged that he had not proved himself able to defend the kingdom he had obtained, Lusignan

might well reply that a great part of the disasters which had occurred during his short reign, and which had left him a prisoner in the hands of Saladin, were attributable to dissensions amongst his vassals, and to treason on the part of his commanders.

Conrad of Montferrat maintained that his wife Isabella was the natural heiress to the crown, not only after the death of Sybilla, her half-sister, but even at the death of Baldwin, as the fruit of a legitimate marriage, whereas Sybilla was the offspring of an alliance which had been pronounced illegal, and even incestuous. At all events, he contended that the rights of Guy were only derived from Sybilla, and that her death, without heirs of her body, naturally conveyed the crown to her sister. At the same time, the whole question was farther complicated by the following facts. Sybilla was the daughter of Almeric, by Agnes de Courtnay, his first wife, from whom he had been divorced upon the pretence of relationship; but at the same time, it had been solemnly declared, in the very act which annulled the marriage, that the children which had issued from it were to be considered as legitimate. Whatever affected her title would have affected that of her brother Baldwin, which had never been disputed, and some doubts as to the legality of the divorce between Almeric and Agnes might have even affected the legitimacy of Isabella herself. A still greater doubt existed as to the legality of the

divorce between Humphrey of Thoron and Isabella, and as to the marriage of Isabella (even then pregnant by her first husband) with Conrad of Montferrat. No doubt could exist that the most unjustifiable means had been taken to bring about this unhallowed union between an ambitious prince and a libidinous woman; that adultery, bribery, violence, and corruption had all had their share as means, and that anathema and excommunication had followed, pronounced by a high-minded and independent prelate.

Such was the state of one of the questions which presented themselves to Philip and Richard on the arrival of the latter before Acre; but the determination of the King of France to support the claims of Conrad was probably strengthened by the jealousy which Richard's appearance and reception in the midst of the Christian host created. Till the English monarch appeared, the King of France had commanded in all things; but the moment that Richard set his foot on the shores of Palestine, the star of Philip's glory was eclipsed. The renown, the wealth, the power, the daring, the majestic presence, the kingly look, the knightly person of the monarch with the lion-heart, outshone his more politic but less energetic rival, and left a mighty sovereign to play a secondary part in the presence of one who was his vassal for half his dominions. Whatever was the equity of the case between Conrad and Guy, it is perfectly clear that personal

rivalry and party spirit took place of all other considerations amongst those by whom the great question was to be decided. But Philip speedily put in a claim, unjust in itself, and which was only calculated to create fresh discord. It had been agreed between the two kings, that all their acquisitions in the holy war should be divided equally between them; and the French monarch now demanded one-half of the island of Cyprus and of the spoils which Richard had taken. To this the English king replied, that Cyprus was not at all in the Holy Land, that his hostilities with Isaac formed no part of the holy war, but had been undertaken to obtain personal reparation for a personal wrong. Philip, however, still persisted; and Richard, it would appear, then replied, that if Philip put such an interpretation upon the treaty between them, he would consent to divide Cyprus and its treasures with him, upon condition that he divided with him the county of Flanders and the treasures which the late count had left. This demand was as unreasonable, upon his part, as the original claim of the French monarch; but it galled Philip sorely, and at length, in the general council of the crusading camp, it was decided that Cyprus formed no part of what was generally termed the pilgrimage; and its conquest consequently could not be considered as included in the holy war.

The still more important question of the claims of Guy and Conrad gave occasion to long and

angry debates, both publicly in the council and in private between the two kings. Richard maintained fiercely and resolutely the rights of Guy of Lusignan; and Guy charged his rival, before the leaders of the army, with embezzling the revenues of the state and turning them from their legitimate use, in the recovery of Palestine. Conrad justified himself as to their appropriation, on the plea of his wife's title to the crown, but said little in regard to the purposes to which he had applied them. The conference on this point was terminated by Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of the king, one of the most renowned warriors of the camp, rising to charge Conrad with falsehood and treason to the Christian cause, and challenging him to the trial by battle. Conrad, though a man of undoubted courage and daring, did not take up the gage, to have accepted which might in those days be considered as unbecoming the sovereign dignity to which he laid claim, but quitted the council, amidst the scoffs of the partisans of Lusignan, and immediately retired to Tyre, whence he only returned at the earnest solicitation of the King of France. His absence was not serviceable to him: the old charges against him, of having attempted to starve the Christian army under the walls of Acre, were revived; and rumours spread thick and fast of treaties with Saladin, and a criminal understanding between him and the Moslem. After the fall of Acre, however, the question of the rights of the two claimants

was once more brought formally before the two kings, and Philip was unwillingly obliged to agree that Guy of Lusignan should retain the sovereignty of the kingdom of Jerusalem during his life; but it was stipulated, that at his decease, whether he married again and left children or not, the crown should devolve upon Isabella and her heirs, the young Marquis of Montferrat being joined with her in authority. In the meantime, Tyre, Sidon, and Beiruth were assigned as fiefs to Conrad of Montferrat; and Joppa and Ascalon to Geoffrey of Lusignan; while the revenues of the port of Acre remained for some time in the hands of the Templars and Hospitallers, upon what plea, or under what circumstances, it is very difficult to discover.*

Acre itself was occupied equally by the two kings; but the Christian inhabitants, who had been expelled by the Turks, were allowed to put in their

* It has been stated that the revenues of the port of Acre were placed in the hands of the military orders, at the period of the challenge given by Geoffrey of Lusignan to Conrad, and that the Templars and Hospitallers were to collect them till Richard and Philip had decided between the two claimants to the throne of Jerusalem; but it is to be remarked that, at the time of the challenge, Acre had not surrendered, and thus this version of the affair cannot be correct. It would appear, also, that the military friars continued to receive the revenues long after the question of sovereignty had been decided. Hoveden seems to have gathered together into one irregular view, a great many facts which were in reality scattered over a considerable space of time.

claim to their former possessions in the city. Philip took up his residence in the house of the Templars, while Richard, with his queen and his sister, occupied the old royal palace.* Ease and luxury succeeded to the labours of war: Saladin withdrew his forces from the neighbourhood of the city; and abundant supplies flowed in, teaching the crusaders to forget the miseries they had endured, and the objects which they had sworn to obtain. Nevertheless, Acre had not fallen a day ere a rumour spread that it was the intention of the King of France to withdraw from the Crusade. No open declaration of this purpose was made, but preparations were observed which seemed to confirm the tale; and Richard, in order to obtain some decisive indication of Philip's intention, proposed that they should both swear to prosecute the war in person for three years. The oath was refused by the King of France, and no farther doubt remained as to his intentions. Thus driven to declare himself, Philip boldly demanded permission of his confederate to quit the Holy Land, and return to his own country.

Richard, probably, was not surprised, though he was indignant at Philip's abandonment of a cause which he had sworn to maintain. No valid excuse existed. There were no intestine wars in France. No dangers or difficulties required his presence in

* Vinesauf.

his own country; and the only fresh inducement which had arisen, since the moment of his departure, to bring about his speedy return, was the death of the Count of Flanders, and the prospect of appropriating, easily, his wealth and territories. Richard, however, had personal motives for viewing his departure with alarm. His own continental territories were left exposed to dangers, which were unforeseen and not provided against when the King of France set out with his brother monarch for Palestine. While warring in the East, the French sovereign was restrained from pursuing those ambitious projects which he had always entertained against the French possessions of the English crown; and Richard had now learned, at least in some degree, with what art and perseverance the schemes of his unfriendly ally could be executed. He could not, however, refuse to liberate Philip from his engagements without an open breach between them, which would have been dangerous to both, and detrimental to the cause of Christendom. He replied, then, scornfully and indignantly, that it would be an eternal disgrace to Philip if he left Palestine before the objects were accomplished which brought him thither; but the English monarch added, that if the King of France felt himself too weak and sickly to remain, and feared that he should die in Palestine, he might depart. He bound him, however, by a fresh oath, not only to refrain from any attack upon the possessions of the English crown

upon the Continent, but to protect them against all others.

Having solemnly entered into this engagement, Philip hurried his preparations, amidst the murmurs and maledictions of the people;* but, even in departing, he gave fresh signs of his enmity towards the King of England. Although, in order to escape a part of the disgrace attending upon his desertion, he left the Duke of Burgundy, with a small force, to carry on the war on his behalf, and sent another detachment to the assistance of the Prince of Antioch, he, nevertheless, carried off with him to Tyre all the Saracen captives which had fallen to his share, setting sail for that city on the first of August.† Vinesauf mentions, as the cause of this act, that Philip expected to be able to obtain a hundred thousand pieces of gold, or more, for their ransom; but even were this the case, the transaction loses nothing of its disgraceful character, inasmuch as he and Richard were both bound by the convention into which they had entered with the garrison at Acre, and neither had any right to treat apart for the deliverance of his prisoners. That Philip was very greatly in want of money, there can be no doubt, for we find that after his departure, the division of his army which he left

* Vinesauf.

† Some writers say that he set sail on the thirty-first of July, but Vinesauf is precise, marking the day as that of St. Peter ad Vincula, which is the first of August.

behind was in such a state of distress, that the Duke of Burgundy was obliged to borrow ten thousand marks of silver from the King of England for the support of his forces, and that Richard, out of compassion for their sufferings, distributed large sums of gold and silver amongst the French soldiery.

A pause took place in the war for some time, while Richard waited for the fulfilment, on the part of the Saracens, of the convention of Acre; and Philip, after having remained a few days in Tyre, sailed away towards his own dominions, leaving his Mahommedan prisoners in the hands of Conrad of Montferrat. As the term approached at which Saladin, on performing his part of the treaty, might demand the liberation of his subjects from the King of England, who remained in command of the army, Richard sent off messengers to Tyre, requiring that Conrad should immediately bring the hostages back to Acre, which town he was busily fortifying as a strong point in the rear during his future operations. Conrad, however, distinctly refused to comply with the monarch's demand; and giving way to his impetuous spirit, Richard declared that he would go in person and take the hostages from his hands. He was dissuaded, however, by the Duke of Burgundy and several of his wiser advisers from a step which would have infallibly brought fresh dissensions into the councils of the invading army; and the Duke of Burgundy, with

two other French nobles, found means to persuade the Marquis of Montferrat to give up the hostages, though they were unable to persuade him to join his forces to those of the crusading princes in Acre.

One of the most painful and one of the most obscure points of Richard's history followed very speedily upon the departure of the King of France from Tyre. The terms of the treaty for the capitulation of Acre are very indistinctly stated by contemporaries, each of whom differs on some point from the others. The account of one of the Arabs, however, which comes nearer than any other to the statments of the Christians, may perhaps be taken as a safe guide as to the mere facts, rejecting his comments upon the conduct of the enemy, in which prejudice had probably a large share. From Ibn Alatir we learn that the Saracen garrison of Acre had agreed, on behalf of Saladin, to surrender the town, to pay the sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, and to restore to liberty two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners, of whom five hundred were to be of noble birth. Upon these conditions, together with the restitution of the real Cross, and the payment of fourteen thousand pieces of gold to Conrad of Montferrat and his followers, the garrison and inhabitants of Acre were to be permitted to go forth, with their goods; but time was allowed for the payment of the money and the liberation of the prisoners. The first term, at which one half of the sum and an

equal proportion of the prisoners were to be delivered to the Christian commissioners, was the tenth* of the month of August, and a further delay of a month was allowed for the conclusion of the whole transaction. Such is the statement of the Arabian historian; but it appears clear, that on the tenth of the month, nothing whatsoever had been done on the part of Saladin towards the fulfilment of the treaty entered into by his generals in Acre. The same historian, however, admits that although the sultan had at first hesitated as to the ratification of a treaty drawn up without his consent, he had afterwards, by the advice of his council, agreed to fulfil the conditions, in order to save the lives of so many of his gallant followers.

It unfortunately happened, we are told by Bohaeddin, that Saladin could not collect the number of

* Great difficulties occur in reconciling the dates, as given by the Arabian and the Christian authors. Ibn Alatir says that the town was taken on Friday, the seventeenth of Gioumadi the second, which would bring it, according to my calculation, to the eleventh of July. Now, the eleventh of July did not fall on a Friday, but on a Thursday. Then, again, we find it stated by most authors, that a month and ten days elapsed after the fall of Acre before Richard put the Saracen hostages to death; and Vinesauf tells us that this barbarous execution took place on the Friday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which fell that year on the sixteenth of August. I can only conclude that a lunar month was meant, especially as I find that some of the Arabs state only eight days to have elapsed after the term, before the decapitation of their brethren.

prisoners required at the end of the first term; and both by the accounts of the Christians and that of Ibn Alatir, it would seem that the sultan sought for a delay, and strove to obtain it in not the most straightforward manner: proposing to Richard and the Duke of Burgundy, either to give them the money and the prisoners which he had been able to collect, together with the real Cross, upon receiving which, and hostages for the fulfilment of the other conditions, they were to set the whole of the prisoners in Acre free; or that they should liberate a part of the Moslem captives, and give hostages themselves for the emancipation of the rest at an after period. This was an important deviation from the terms of the original treaty, and one which could not be fairly demanded by a Prince who was not in a condition to fulfil his part of the engagements already entered into. Much negotiation, it would appear, took place, and from the statements both of the Arabs and the Christians we gather, that on the day fixed for the first term, the council of the crusading army assembled, and decided that if within ten days the stipulations were not fulfilled, the prisoners were to be put to death, which terrible sentence was immediately announced to Saladin. The sultan replied, that if the slightest injury were done to them, he would retaliate upon every Christian in his power; but Richard was not to be turned from his purpose, and he accordingly waited in stern tranquillity till the 20th of August had arrived, when, marching out of Acre at the head

of his forces, he led the portion of prisoners which had been allotted to himself within sight of the Saracen camp, and there ordered their heads to be struck off, which was executed with zeal and satisfaction by his bigoted soldiery. At the same time, a similar cruel and sanguinary act was performed within the walls of Acre by the Duke of Burgundy; and, in all, it is computed that on that day more than five thousand Mussulmans were put to death. Every civilized man must look upon this picture with horror. It not only shows the barbarism of the age, but proves that Richard fully participated in the savage feelings of the times. But we must not be led by our abhorrence of so revolting a deed into the absurd and unphilosophical view taken by some modern authors of the relative position, in point of civilization, of the Saracens and the Christians at this period. We must recollect the barbarous massacre by Saladin of the Christian prisoners after the battle of Tiberiad, and not forget a thousand other facts stated, even with commendation, by the Arabian writers, which show that, in regard to sanguinary cruelty, there was no difference whatever between the professors of the two religions. It is fair also to say, that the Mahommedans added the excesses of brutal lust to the vengeful thirst of blood, and that acts are recorded by themselves of their conduct to their female prisoners which rendered even the slaughter of a captive and defenceless enemy but a trifling offence against civilization.

One of the Arabian writers* accuses Richard of bad faith, in putting the hostages to death; saying, that it had been stipulated, if the ransom were paid they were to be set at liberty, and if not, were to be treated as prisoners of war. It must be recollected, however, that in those days, prisoners of war unransomed were very frequently put to death, both by Saracens and Franks. But so wholesale a massacre in cold blood would seem to have shocked even the most bigoted of the Christian writers; and instead of justifying it as an act of reprisal for the slaughter of the prisoners at Tiberiad, Hoveden asserts that it took place in retaliation for a similar barbarous deed performed by Saladin some days before. He declares, that on receiving an intimation that the Moslem captives would be put to death unless the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, the great monarch led forth the Christian prisoners whom he had collected, and, in sight of the crusading army, decapitated them all, and adds, that the Franks rushed to arms, and attacked the forces of the sultan, though without any important result. No mention is made by any Arabian writer of this massacre of the Christians; and Emad-eddin reverses the tale, and declares that the Mussulman forces, indignant at the cruelty shown to their brethren, assailed the army of the English king, and were engaged with it for some time in a furious combat. It must be added,

* Boha-eddin.

that Vinesauf, who was an eye-witness, does not in any respect confirm the account of Hoveden. The statements of both Arabian and European writers are varying, obscure, and confused, in regard to this terrible event; but the following facts appear clear. Saladin did not fulfil the terms of the capitulation of Acre; the council of the Christian princes, at the end of the period stipulated for the partial execution of the treaty, decided unanimously that the hostages should be put to death; and that Richard and the Duke of Burgundy acted upon this decision, after having allowed a delay of ten days, to see if Saladin would perform his part of the convention.

A few of the captives were spared, in cases where their rank and renown afforded the chance of their being afterwards exchanged for Christian knights; and the whole scene of blood and cruelty was closed, we are assured, by a search for gold and jewels in the entrails of the slain, and by the extraction of the gall-bladders of the unfortunate Mahommedans for "*medicinal uses!*" Superstition and cruelty always go together, and we can well comprehend how those who would slaughter five thousand defenceless men in cold blood, might imagine that the gall of a Saracen was different from that of a Christian.

The health and strength of Richard was now fully restored, and this sanguinary execution over, his first object was to pursue the war in which he was engaged to a conclusion. He determined to

direct his march towards Ascalon, along the shores of the sea; the fleet and the army advancing side by side. Some days were consumed in embarking the necessary stores;* but when all was prepared, a new obstacle presented itself, in the unwillingness of many of the crusaders, especially the French, to quit the pleasures and repose of Acre. The English monarch and his own troops marched out of the gates, and encamped in the plain, preparatory to the advance upon Ascalon; but it was not without persuasions, prayers, bribes, and punishment, in some cases, that Richard could induce the rest of the crusaders to follow. Even this first step, however, did not pass without opposition on the part of Saladin. Clouds of his light horsemen whirled round the Christian camp, and Richard was more frequently obliged to perform the duties of common soldier than that of general. He was always the first, we are told, to go forth armed against any of these bodies of the enemy; but, notwithstanding his daring courage, he took care not to pursue them too far and too rashly. Such was not the case, however, with some of his companions; and a Hungarian Count of great renown,

* This is the first time, as far as I can remember, that I find the word *biscuit* employed by our old chroniclers. Vinesauf says, book iv., chap. v., "Igitur ex præceptor victualia quæ x. diebus sufficerent navibus imposuerunt exercitui apportandum, panem scil. *biscoctum* et farinam, carnes et vina, et quæ viderentur esui necessaria."

as well as one of the king's marshals, called Hugh of Poitou, were taken by the Saracens in consequence of their advancing imprudently into the midst of the enemy. Richard made a gallant effort to rescue his friends, but they were carried away captive.

During the stay of the armies in Acre, luxury and debauchery would seem to have prevailed amongst all classes; so that the physical strength of the soldiers of the Cross, which had resisted the labours and privations of the long siege, was diminished by the intemperance of the city. Warned by this fact, Richard drew up strict regulations for the farther proceedings of his army. No women were suffered to accompany it on the march, and even his queen, his sister, and their companions were left behind in Acre, with a strong body of men for their guard, under the command of Bertram of Verdun. It was agreed that the van and the rear-guard should be alternately formed by the English and French troops, and by the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital; and a short first day's march was made on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, which festival fell on Saturday, the twenty-fourth of August. The Mahommedan forces crowned the heights, ready to sweep down upon the troops of the Cross as they passed the river, but so strict was the discipline which Richard had established, that no opportunity of attack was afforded to the enemy; and the crusading army,

after having crossed the stream, encamped in safety at a little distance from the city. They there remained for the whole of one day, in order to give time for any of those who might be still lagging behind in the town, to join the host; and on Sunday, the twenty-sixth of August, the march for Ascalon really commenced, in the most perfect order. Advancing with banners and pennons of various shapes and different bearings displayed, with the sea and the fleet upon the right hand, and the mountains and the Saracen army on the left, the host of the Crusade approached the hills which at some points between Acre and Ascalon came down to the shores of the Mediterranean. The van was led by Richard in person, with what was called the Norman standard, (into a long description of which his historian enters*) borne on a four-wheeled car before him. The rear was brought up by the Duke of Burgundy and the French troops, who followed somewhat slowly, till at length the advance reached the narrow passes between the hills and the sea. Richard had proceeded some way, it would appear, into these defiles, and the line of the army had become very much attenuated when, sweeping round the rear-guard, the forces of Saladin fell upon the baggage. A gallant defence was made; but the increasing numbers of the Mahommedan cavalry

* Vinesauf.

threatened every moment to overpower the scattered and irregular resistance of the French. A great deal of booty was made; many of the Christians were killed; and the whole rear-guard was thrown into confusion and disarray, when John Fitzlucy, spurring rapidly after the King of England, brought him the first news of the disaster. Richard instantly turned his horse, and, galloping furiously to the rear, speedily turned the tide of battle. Striking to the right and left, each sweep of his heavy sword told fatally amongst the astonished Saracens, who fled from the face of Richard, says his historian, as the Philistines from the face of Maccabeus. The English monarch was powerfully seconded in the combat by his ancient enemy, William des Barres; and from that moment a perfect reconciliation took place between the two warriors. The Mahommedan forces retired to a greater distance, still watching the crusaders on their march, till, having reached the banks of a large river, the King of England pitched his tents in the midst of a wide plain.

The warning they had received in the pass, was not without its effect upon the forces of the Cross. The march was resumed on the following day, and although, we are told, Saladin occupied the defiles with his best troops, yet the discipline and order now maintained in the Christian ranks were so strict, that the enemy did not venture to make any attack till the hosts of the Cross reached the neigh-

bourhood of Cayphas, and encamped between that city and the sea.

At Cayphas the army remained to refresh itself for two or three days, though the spot afforded no great accommodation, and a great many inconveniences were experienced in its neighbourhood. The plan of defence which had been formed by Saladin, when first alarmed by the march of Frederic Barbarossa, now proved serviceable against Richard and the forces under his command, although, more provident than the great German prince, the English sovereign had provided in some degree for the supply of his army, by the line of march he had chosen, and the constant vicinity of his fleet. On the approach of Frederic Barbarossa, the sultan had given orders for dismantling all the fortresses of the second class, which could not offer a long resistance to the Christians, but might afford them, when taken, storehouses and places of refuge.* Such, it would seem, had been the case with Cayphas; but the neighbourhood of the ships supplied the wants of the crusaders, and after a short pause, the march recommenced through a more difficult country than even that which had been already passed. Greater caution than ever was

* Emad-eddin. This author mentions, amongst the places dismantled, Cesarea, Jaffa, and Arsouf, or Assur; but in regard to the latter place, at least, he must have been mistaken, for when Richard reached it, as will soon be shown, he found the city fully garrisoned by the Mussulman forces.

displayed: the Templars led the van; the Knights of St. John brought up the rear; and, through a woody and uncultivated district, overrun with thorns, which offended the feet of horses and men, and with game, which lay amongst the flowering shrubs almost till trodden under foot by the passing host, the army directed its course towards Cæsarea, halting two days at a place called the Cottage of the Narrow Ways,* where the soldiers suffered dreadfully from the bites of tarantulas. These animals, which the chronicler calls *vermes*, entered the tents at night; and the wounds they inflicted became immediately swollen and highly inflamed, producing great pain, so that little repose was obtained, although rest was greatly needed by the weary army, which had undergone incredible fatigues during a long march in the heat of a Syrian summer. Provisions in abundance, however, were brought by the ships, and the religious enthusiasm of the soldiery was kept up by the solemn cry, which resounded through the camp every night, of *Save the Holy Sepulchre!* It was always first pro-

* There must either be a clerical or typographical error in the work of Vinesauf, or else the worthy pilgrim must have made a mistake, for he places Capernaum in the line of Richard's march, and yet shows that the army followed the sea-shore. Now, every one knows that Capernaum is far inland, near the Lake of Gennesareth, and quite out of the way in going from Acre to Jerusalem. Perhaps the word Capernaum may have been transcribed by mistake for Calumon.

nounced by some one with a loud voice towards the centre of the camp, just before the crusaders lay down to rest; and, taken up by every tongue, it echoed from tent to tent, while with hands stretched up to heaven, and tears of penitence, the soldiers of the Cross besought mercy and assistance in their great and perilous undertaking.

When the march recommenced, Richard again placed himself at the head of the army, while the Templars brought up the rear; the Saracens appearing in great force upon the neighbouring hills. On several occasions, we find, the king spurred forward in person to attack the enemy; but the Moslem fled wherever he appeared, and the Christians suffered far more from the difficulties of the way, and the tremendous heat of the sun, than from the spears or the arrows of the Saracens. Several, we are told, died of exhaustion, and many others were sent by Richard on board his galleys to obtain a little repose ere they resumed their march. The heavy armour of the Christians greatly impeded their progress, fatigued their limbs, and embarrassed their movements; and many of the soldiery, casting away their shirts of mail, preferred exposing themselves to the weapons of the enemy, rather than endure the oppressive weight and intolerable heat of the hauberk under a burning sky. During the whole course of the march from Acre to Cæsarea, the attacks of the Saracens were incessant; but it would seem that no great impression was made,

and that the defensive armour of the crusaders was proof against the arrows of the Mussulmans, which stuck between the links of mail without injuring the person of the soldier. One of the Arabian historians* declares that he had seen as many as one-and-twenty arrows standing out from the hauberk of one crusader; and another† compares the Christian soldiers, when thus accoutred, to porcupines. If we are to believe the Moslem accounts, supported by the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, the cross-bows of the Christian infantry did much more damage amongst the ranks of Saladin. We are told, that chariots had been constructed furnished with mantlets to protect the cross-bow men, and that, raised upon the left of the crusading army, these carriages formed a sort of wall, from behind which poured upon the Mussulman cavalry showers of quarrels or bolts, which were sent with such force and skill as often to kill at once both horse and rider. Nevertheless, many stragglers from the host of Richard were captured, and after being brought into the presence of Saladin, were decapitated by his order, in retaliation for the massacre of the unredeemed hostages of Acre. The Christians, on the other hand,—perhaps more humanely,—gave no quarter; and this ferocious and exterminating spirit continued unmitigated, it would seem, till after the battle of Assur.

Cæsarea was at length reached, at the conclusion

* Boha-eddin. † Emad-eddin.

of a long day's march, which had nearly exhausted the strength of the whole host. The town was partially dismantled, and the Mahommedan inhabitants fled at once on perceiving the approach of the crusaders.* Without entering the city, the Christians pitched their tents on the shores of the River of Crocodiles, extending their encampment a long way over the plains of Megiddo, and the same night two soldiers, bathing after the excessive heats, were eaten up by the voracious reptiles, which gave a name to the stream and to the neighbouring lake. The European fleet, however, having been called into the port of Cæsarea, supplied the wearied soldiers with abundant provisions; and the exhortations of Richard were not lost upon a number of the followers of the Cross who had lingered in Acre, but who now joined the standard of the English king in the vessels which were daily passing between the two cities. More than a hundred thousand veteran soldiers, hardened by fatigues and undaunted by dangers, were arrayed under the banner of the Cross; but vast reinforcements had also poured in to the aid of Saladin, and the attacks of the Moslem became more daring and incessant. One wish for a general battle pervaded the bosoms of the Christians; but the Parthian system of warfare adopted by Saladin was still maintained. The whirling masses of his light cavalry swept round and round the heavy-

* Vinesauf. Emad-eddin.

armed soldiers of the Cross, harassing them by continual skirmishes and flights of arrows; but dispersing as soon as attacked, and galloping away towards their companions on the hills. A more serious affair took place, indeed, as Richard marched forward from Cæsarea. A body of cavalry, too large for such rapid flight, hung upon the flank of the advancing host, just as it was about to cross a stream called by the Arabs Cassab. The great mass of the crusaders marched on as usual, in firm and unshaken ranks; but several squadrons were detached by Richard, either to disperse the enemy's troops, or to bring them to an engagement; and it is probable that he entertained some hopes of forcing on a general battle. The Mussulmans, commanded by an emir of the highest renown, stood their ground for some time against the charge of Richard's men-at-arms. Their leader, who was a giant in stature, and who wielded a lance of twice the size of any in the Christian army, performed feats of valour which called forth the admiration of his adversaries, and seems to have provoked them to the combat, by boasting that none of them could unhorse him, or would dare to meet him in the charge. His troops, however, could not resist the impetuous vigour of the Europeans, and he himself was killed in the meleé, to the great grief of Saladin and the whole Moslem force.*

* His name was Aiaz the Long, and, strange to say, the Christian historians have given it accurately, which is exceed-

The impenetrable thickets which here stretched down to the sea-coast, now forced the Christian army to take its way over the mountains, and the continual attacks of the Saracens became more and more audacious and detrimental. The Templars, who brought up the rear, lost so many horses that they almost gave themselves up to despair; the Count of St. Paul, with the troops under his command, was in the same condition; and so tremendous were the flights of arrows, that we are assured, along the whole line of march, not four feet of ground could be seen on which a shaft or a javelin had not fallen. The effect of such a dense shower of missiles amongst a body of men moving on in the most compact order may be easily conceived; and Richard himself, who at various times was in every part of the army, encouraging and supporting the soldiers, was wounded by a javelin in the side. Many of the horses died afterwards by the side of a brackish stream, near which the crusaders pitched their tents for the night; and as they had been obliged to withdraw to some distance from their fleet, horseflesh became so valuable that dangerous quarrels took place for the dead chargers, which were only quieted by the king promising to bestow a live horse on every one who would give up the carcass of his beast for the support of his companions.

ingly rare in their accounts of the Crusades. Boha-eddin says, that this leader met with his death in consequence of his horse becoming restive, and rearing with him.

The advance upon Assur was conducted in the same manner as the previous march; and it was strictly enjoined to the inferior leaders, by no means to risk bringing on an engagement by any movement against the enemy unauthorized by Richard himself. It was evidently the intention of the King of England to draw Saladin into a general battle as soon as possible; but he had discovered or divined the plan of the sultan, to wear him out by frequent and severe skirmishes, in which the light troops of the Moslem were sure to have the advantage, and to avoid one of those decisive engagements, in which the superior weight and vigour of the Christian chivalry generally obtained a certain success. Richard only dreaded, therefore, the impetuosity of the leaders of the various heterogeneous parts of his vast army, who, by repelling too fiercely the detached attacks which were made from time to time upon the rear, the flank, and the front of the crusading forces, might frustrate the scheme of their commander for drawing the enemy's troops into a position from which they could not escape without a decisive battle. The fiery courage of the Templars and the Hospitallers, the want of due subordination in both bodies, and their jealousy of each other, were most to be feared; but Richard formed his plans so well, that though the engagement was brought on somewhat sooner than he proposed, and the results consequently diminished in value, he yet obtained an opportunity of striking

a terrific blow at the Moslem, which, in all probability, would have ensured complete success in the campaign, had circumstances enabled him to pursue his schemes to their termination. The first day's march from the banks of the salt river was through the forest of Assur, and great fears were entertained in the Christian army lest an ambush should be laid therein, or lest the enemy should set fire to the wood. Such means, however, were not resorted to by Saladin, and the host issued forth in safety upon the plains beyond. That night and the following day were spent by the banks of a pleasant stream, and on Saturday, the seventh of September, the march was recommenced, at an early hour of the morning, with many indications of an approaching conflict. The Mahommedan forces covered the hills around in bodies more numerous than had ever before been seen, and it is computed that upwards of three hundred thousand men had by this time been collected by the sultan from all the countries, far and wide, which owned the law of Mahommed. The Christians, horse and foot, numbered a hundred thousand fighting men; but they were the flower of the chivalry of Europe, and commanded by the greatest general of the age. No rash impetuosity was now displayed by the fiery Richard. In all the preparations for the march, which he hoped and expected to terminate by a battle, the knight was laid aside for the commander, and the troops were marshalled in such firm and

serried order, that we are assured an apple could not be thrown into any part of the array without falling upon a man or a horse. The Templars this day led the van; the Hospitallers brought up the rear; in the centre were Guy of Lusignan, the Duke of Burgundy, James of Avesnes, William des Barres, and other celebrated commanders, while Henry Count of Champagne appears to have been at the head of a detached body on the left, towards the mountains, with the principal force of archers and cross-bow men. Richard himself commanded in every part of the field. The troops of Brittany and Anjou followed close upon the steps of the Templars, the King of Jerusalem commanded his countrymen of Poitou, and the fourth body consisted of Normans and English. We have no account, upon which we can rely, of the arrangement of the other troops; for, with the exception of the Templars and Hospitallers, Vinesauf only mentions, in describing the array of the army, the natives of those countries or provinces which were under the English sceptre. We know, however, that there was an immense multitude of French, Danes, Germans, and Italians; and to these troops distinct places have been assigned by the imagination of modern writers, supported by very faint indications in the works of contemporaries who were not present.

Proceeding at the very slowest pace, for fear of

deranging their compact order,* the soldiers of the cross advanced towards Assur, which town, as is the case with many Mahommedan cities, was surrounded by very extensive gardens.† The road was narrow and somewhat difficult, and, we are assured by Saladin's friend and companion in the fight, that the sultan had determined to give battle that day, and to drive the Christians into the sea. It is clear, however, that Richard doubted his great adversary's intention of hazarding a general engagement, and he gave the strictest orders that no man should venture to charge the enemy till a preconcerted signal had been given by a blast of two trumpets in the front, two in the centre, and two in the rear; and he refrained from attack, throughout the whole morning, with wonderful patience, waiting for the moment when the forces of Saladin should be so completely exposed in the plain that no possibility could exist of their escaping without a battle. The king himself and the Duke of Burgundy rode rapidly along, from time to time, with a body of chosen knights, from van to rear, observing both the movements of the enemy, and the array and demeanour of their own troops. Thus the whole host moved on, while the multitudes of Saladin

* Ita se agebat exercitus sensim progrediens, et paulatim ne forte disgregatur, quia minus cohærentes acies ordinatæ, minus ad resistendum valerent.

† Boha-eddin.

gathered closer and closer round, threatening now the flank and now the rear, and now seeming disposed to oppose the progress of the van. The brazen drums of the Mahommedans, and their loud shrieking cries deafened the ear; and their fluttering ensigns, gay dresses, and whirling clouds of horsemen dazzled the eye. The heat was intolerable, and the dust almost suffocating, while through the dim atmosphere appeared and disappeared both the highly-trained and disciplined bands of the sultan's veterans and the wild tribes of Asia and Africa which had been called to his assistance. Now came the swarthy Moors, sent unwillingly at the last hour by the heretic emperor; now the yellow Bedouin, with his bow and quiver and small round shield; and now the frightful negro, with his jetty visage, and his white and shining teeth—till it seemed to the wondering eyes of the crusaders, as if the whole southern and eastern world had gathered together for their destruction. Towards the third hour of the day, the attack was begun by about ten thousand Turks, who came rushing on with a rapidity compared to the stoop of an eagle or the rapid course of the lightning. Bands of wild musicians accompanied them to animate them to the fight; and their cries are represented as horrific. Not yet, however, did they venture to close with their adversaries, still shooting their arrows, and hurling their javelins from a distance. The cross-bow men and the archers of the rear, returned the

shower of missiles with fierce determination; but it is evidently shown that great apprehensions were entertained by many in the host of the crusade, for several of the bowmen cast down their weapons, and rushed into the masses near, fearful of being excluded from the general array of the army, if they paused to repel the enemy completely. Still, however, the great body of the Christian forces continued to move on in firm and regular array, though many even of the knights, deprived of their horses, were forced to march on foot, plying the bow or the cross-bow, like the common men. The principal fury of the attack was directed against the rear of the army, where the Knights of the Hospital were stationed, and I do not find that the Templars were at all engaged during the early part of the day.* The Grand Master of St. John, after bearing with the utmost patience the continued assaults of the Asiatic cavalry—and the shower of missiles that fell thick as hail, both amongst the ranks of the order

* It has been stated by Mr. Addison, in his history of the Order, that the Templars first forded the river and drove in the advanced guard of Saladin's army. In the absence of any formal dispatch from the generals commanding armies, who must see and comprehend more of a battle than any one else, though even they can only know a part, the best testimony we can have is of course that of persons who were present. Now, neither the account of Vinesauf nor that of Boha-eddin, both eye-witnesses, lead me to believe that the Templars were engaged with the Mahommedan forces early in the day. The pressure is shown clearly to have been always on the rear.

and the bands of foot attached to his division, sent messengers to Richard, beseeching him to suffer a charge to be made. The king, however, still commanded him to refrain; and the army continued to advance by slow steps, till the advanced guard reached the gardens of the town.* At this time the pressure of the Mahommedan troops upon the rear was tremendous, and a body of more than twenty thousand Turks, encouraged by the passive aspect of the crusading force, dashed in upon the Hospitallers, wounding several with their scimitars and maces. Irritated and unable to comprehend the more masterly plans of Richard, one of the knights, named Garnerius de Napes,† exclaimed with a loud voice: "Aid us, Sir George, noble knight! Now perishes Christianity—not allowed to fight against this accursed race!"

Moved, it would appear, by this cry, the Grand Master rode furiously in search of Richard, and once more besought him to give the signal for battle. The monarch, however, still refused, and the Grand Master rode back again, bearing express direc-

* Boha-eddin.

† Vertot, in his history of the Knights of St. John, gives the name of the Grand Master at this time, as Ermengard de Dapes. It is to be presumed that he wrote from authentic documents, but yet the name is so similar to that which is applied to a simple knight by Vinesauf, who was in constant companionship with the order, that a suspicion may exist as to the Abbé's accuracy. We know that he was not at all times as scrupulous as he might have been.

tions to remain passive till the signal was given. The repeated attacks of the enemy, however, overcame the subordination of the Knights of the Hospital, and two of the order—the marshal himself being one, and Baldwin de Carreo, one of Richard's own subjects, another—couched their lances, and dashed into the midst of the Turkish cavalry. The whole body of the Hospitallers instantly followed; and delay being now no longer possible, the ranks of the infantry opened; the cavalry passed through; the Count of Champagne, James of Avesnes, the Count of Dreux, and his brother, the Bishop of Beauvais, as well as the Earl of Leicester, all charged at once with their several divisions, and the battle became general, Richard himself leading the whole host, and hewing his way through the midst of the enemy. His feats of personal prowess on this occasion seem not only to have exceeded those of all others, but all that he had ever previously performed himself. As far as the sweep of his heavy sword reached, the children of Islam fell before it, or, retiring on either hand, left a broad road for his advance; and we are assured, that for the distance of half a mile, the ground was strewn thickly by the corpses of Saracens slain by his hand.

The resistance of the Mussulmans must, nevertheless, have been desperate. Blocked up in a narrow space, with high hills on one side and a forest on the other, the very measures which

Saladin had taken to prevent the escape of the crusading army proved detrimental to his own. The manœuvres of his light cavalry, by which he had so frequently harassed and destroyed the Christian forces, were no longer possible; and the heavy horses, long lances, and superior strength and discipline of the European knights, gave them every advantage in close combat. Very shortly after the commencement of the battle, the right, the left, and the centre of the Mahommedan force were all in flight; but Saladin himself, Taki-eddin, and Malec-adel, made prodigious efforts to rally their troops, and twice brought them back to the charge.* Some of the Christian forces were shaken by the shock, and gave way for a short space; but the prowess and skill of Richard, and the fierce resolution of the Templars and the Hospitallers, as well as the cool and determined advance of the German

* Boha-eddin, who was with Saladin at the time, gives an account somewhat different from that of the Christian authors, but not irreconcilable with it. He speaks of Saladin's efforts to rally the fugitives, and then says, "As often as the Franks charged, our troops took flight, and sheltered themselves in the forest: when they stopped, our men stopped; if they charged again, the others recommenced running, but still fighting all the time. These charges and flights were renewed three times." If the Mussulmans, as he says, fled each time they were charged, into the forest, it is clear that they must have been brought back to the combat, for in another place he declares that the crusaders did not dare to follow them into the woods for fear of an ambuscade.

cavalry, overcame all resistance; and to the hills and the forest the enemy were followed till victory might have been hazarded by farther pursuit. In the second charge of the Saracen cavalry, the celebrated James of Avesnes lost his life. Surrounded by a multitude, and left nearly alone, without the aid and assistance which, we are assured, might have been given him by the Count of Dreux and others, he continued to fight till he had slain fifteen of the enemy with his own hand,* but then fell under repeated blows, terribly disfigured by the wounds he had received.

It would appear that the body of Mahommedans who made the second charge had, in the first instance, fled towards the forest, but resuming courage, on seeing that the great mass of the Christian army was pursuing the fugitives towards

* A tale is current that James of Avesnes was killed within a short distance of the spot where Richard was fighting; and that the king, hearing him call for assistance, turned his horse towards him and cleft his way to the spot, but arrived too late to save his friend. I find no such statement in any competent authority contemporary with the event; and Richard, in his own letters, two of which are preserved, takes no notice of such an incident. The whole story is probably merely an invention of those who have thought fit to embellish the pages of history with the ornaments of the imagination.

† "Vires resumentes," says Vinesauf, which would not at all show that this was "a squadron of Turkish cavalry who had not been engaged in the previous contest," as is stated in the little history of Richard which I have mentioned several times.

the hills, returned to attack the stragglers in the rear of the crusading force, and made their way to the spot where the English standard stood, surrounded by a body of chosen warriors. The number of the Saracens who rallied on this occasion is stated at twenty thousand; the standard was protected only by a few hundreds; and the latter, though fighting bravely, were nearly overpowered, when William des Barres, and the troops under his command, hastened to their assistance, and the assailants were forced to fly in confusion.

The king, in the meantime, pursued the scattered parties of the enemy which had taken their way towards the hills, attacking and dispersing each body in which an attempt was made to rally, till at length he ordered his trumpets to sound the recall, and, having returned to his standard, marched in firm order to the town of Assur, where he pitched his tents without the walls. While busied in forming their encampment, the rear of the Christian army was once more attacked by a large body of the enemy, and, unprepared for this fresh assault, the troops were thrown into some confusion. Richard himself, however, hearing the tumult, hastened to the spot with only fifteen companions, and cast himself headlong into the midst of the enemy, crying, "Help us, God, and the Holy Sepulchre!" A number of others followed, and the Turkish force was speedily dispersed and pursued to Assur with great slaughter. No other attempt was made to renew the combat, and thus ended the

most important battle in which Richard was ever engaged. The loss on the part of the Mussulmans was very great, and the Arabian historians acknowledge that, had it not been for the shelter afforded by the neighbouring forest, the Mahommedan army would have been destroyed.* Vinesauf laments the intemperate zeal of the Hospitallers, which led them to disobey the orders of Richard, to which alone he attributes the escape of even a part of the Saracen army. As it was, the rout was at one time so complete, that Boha-eddin declares, on returning from the left of Saladin's host to the centre, he found only seventeen men in the tent of the great monarch. "Every one else," he says, "had taken flight." An immense quantity of baggage, arms, rich vestments, banners, and standards, fell into the hands of the Christians, and Vinesauf assures us, that thirty-three emirs were left dead upon the field. On the place where the battle had raged, the bodies of seven thousand Mussulmans were found, not counting the wounded, who, dragging themselves to a distance, died after the fight in the gardens and the woods. The loss on the part of the Christians was comparatively insignificant, though the death of James of Avesnes plunged the whole army into grief. His body was eagerly sought for on the following day, and found so covered with wounds as hardly to be recognised

* Ibn Alatir.

by those who knew him best. The corpse was washed and brought into Assur, where it was visited by almost every knight in the army, and tears and lamentations proved the universal love and esteem which the dead nobleman had obtained.* His funeral was conducted with every solemnity, and perpetual masses were instituted by Richard for the soul of his deceased friend.

The booty taken was immense, and the number

James of Avesnes was the epitome of all chivalrous virtues. Richard himself, in one of his letters, speaks of him thus:—"Charum Jacobum de Avennis, qui in exercitu Christiano per plures annos ad serviendum Deo viventi, quasi columna exercitus in omni sanctitate et sinceritate fidei promptus extitit et devotus." And Vinesauf tells us, "Super morte tanti viri lamentabuntur universi, rememorantes ejus probitatem et largitatem, et eundem ornatum pluremarum dote virtutum." I have omitted all notice of the romantic incidents connected with the death of James of Avesnes by Bromton, because that author is not only not confirmed, but positively contradicted, by contemporaries and eye-witnesses in almost every important particular. He represents the battle as having been begun by James of Avesnes, when we know it was hurried by the indiscretion of two of the Hospitallers. He states that James of Avesnes was killed by his leg and foot being cut off, while Vinesauf tells us a very different story—namely, that his horse falling, he was surrounded and despatched by the Saracens. The same author, it must be remarked, neither comprehended Richard's plan of battle, nor knew any one of the circumstances attending the victory at Assur. He represents Richard and Saladin as having met in the fight, and the sultan as having been unhorsed by his great rival. These figments do very well to embellish fictitious narrative, but are unworthy of a place in history.

of captives apparently greater than usual; but the Christian army, though it had suffered little from the sword of the Saracens in the battle, had been worn down and exhausted, not only by the fierce contention of the day, but by long marches and intolerable heat, as well as by the scarcity of provisions, which had prevailed during the latter part of the march from Acre. A day's repose, however, was all that Richard granted to his army; and he then resumed his advance upon Joppa, where, in all probability, he expected to receive more abundant supplies.

Saladin, by all accounts, overwhelmed with grief at the disastrous issue of the greatest battle he had ever fought, saw clearly that it would be impossible to prevent the progress of Richard, or to save the principal cities on the sea-coast. It was his own opinion that Ascalon might be defended, and in the first instance, after retreating from the fatal field of Assur to Ramla, he proposed to throw a strong garrison into Ascalon, and furnish it with sufficient supplies to stand a long siege. His emirs, however, proved mutinous, and, even more dispirited than the sultan, first remonstrated, and then refused to obey.*

Under these circumstances, there remained no choice but to dismantle the city, or suffer that strong and important place to fall into the hands of the

* Ibn Alatir.

Christians in such a state as would give them the command of the whole sea-coast of Palestine. The sultan accordingly determined, with great regret, to throw down the walls of the fortress, which had been the first fruits of the victory of Tiberiad; and he accordingly set off from Ramla, on the eighteenth of the month of Schaban, with his whole mind agitated with the thoughts of the act he was about to perform. He declared, with bitterness of heart, that although he loved his children much, he would rather lose them all, than cast down one stone of the walls of Ascalon;* but nevertheless he pursued the painful task with strong determination, and assigning to a number of his emirs the destruction of separate parts of the fortifications, he notified to the inhabitants that they would be for the future defenceless, and with deep grief saw them sell hastily all that they could not carry away, and retire in separate parties towards Egypt or the interior of Palestine. When the work of destruction was accomplished, the great monarch retreated upon Jerusalem, causing the walls of Ramla to be likewise cast down, as well as the church of Lidda, and a number of fortresses and castles, which he feared might be converted by the Christians into magazines on their march towards Jerusalem.

The advance of Richard upon Joppa met with very

* Boha-eddin. This author took part in the dismantling of the city.

little obstruction. A body of fifteen thousand chosen men had been left by the sultan to watch the movements of the crusading force upon the banks of the river of Assur, but they offered no effectual resistance to the progress of the English monarch; and after a two days' march his army reached Joppa, the walls of which, with part of the city itself, had been previously destroyed by Saif-eddin. Only one quarter of the town was habitable, so that the greater part of the army was obliged to encamp in the beautiful olive grounds of the neighbourhood; but the clear warmth of the atmosphere, tempered by the delicious sea-breezes, rendered a residence under canvas no great hardship. Every luxury of warm countries was there also found in abundance, and the parched lips of the weary wanderers through the close woods and over the burning hills of Palestine, were refreshed by delicious fruits—the grape, the fig, the pomegranate, and the almond; while the trees that bore them afforded a pleasant shade from the fiery suns of a Syrian summer. The fleet, too, which had been despatched to Acre for fresh supplies of provisions, there rejoined the army, laden with abundant stores, and a period of repose and ease ensued which was more detrimental, perhaps, to the energies of the crusading force than the oppressive heat of the march, or the darts and arrows of the enemy.

Hardly had the army tasted the rest from labour which was so necessary to it, when tidings were

brought from Ascalon that Saladin and his troops were busy destroying the fortifications of that city. The town was, in itself, so defensible, the power of the sultan was considered so great, and the vast importance to him of preserving a means of communication with Egypt by sea so evident, that the intelligence was not credited; and Richard at once sent off a galley with Geoffrey of Lusignan and William de Stagno to ascertain the facts. Their report left no doubt of the desperate resolution of the sultan; and it appears that Richard immediately summoned his council, and proposed to march at once for Ascalon, to cut short the farther operations of the Saracens, and to restore the fortifications which had been already destroyed. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who considers the situation and extent of that city, that its preservation, as a fortress and a port, was absolutely necessary to the Christians of the Holy Land, if they sought to regain and hold in possession the ancient kingdom of Jerusalem. The proposal of Richard was the only one befitting the time and the circumstances; but the residence in Joppa was pleasant and luxurious; men had fought well, and laboured hard, and thirsted for repose and enjoyment. A wearisome march, another battle, and then long labours in the trench and on the wall, were unpalatable prospects to the French, and the whole body of that nation vehemently opposed the more judicious views of the King of England. Arguments

are never wanting, when men's inclinations are strongly biassed. It was urged that Joppa was nearer to Jerusalem, and that it would be much better to restore and fortify anew the former city, than to undertake a long march and much greater labours, for the purpose of raising the walls of Ascalon from their ruins. The voice of Richard was overborne in the council, and, with regret, he abandoned a purpose which his military instinct showed him to be wise and necessary.* He might, and probably did, also comprehend very clearly that a long residence in a place already too famous for luxury and vice was not likely to restore the vigour, or increase the activity of his army, and he had soon cause to feel that the enfeebling effects of such a sojourn would generate disunion in council, and indecision in action. "The army remained there, says the historian, spending the days in idleness and sports, multiplying sins, gluttony, and luxury. Women, the incentive to offences, the promoters of evil, returned into the army from Acre, by whom the greater part of the people were depraved, the activity of the pilgrimage decreased, and due devotion brought into contempt.†" A number of the men even embarked for Acre, and took up their

* His vero pertinaciter Franci contradixerunt, allegantes ipsam Joppen potius restaurandam, et labore commodiore reparandam, quippe ad breviorem perigrinationem in Jerusalem commodius potuisset opus consummari.

† Vinesauf.

abode in the manifold taverns of the city, spending their time in rioting and debauchery, and refusing to return, in despite of the exhortations of Guy of Lusignan, who was sent to bring them back to Joppa. To remedy this evil, Richard himself, at length, set sail for Acre, and, by persuasions and threats, and the use of all those means which he judged available, brought back the greater part of those who had deserted his camp to Joppa. Many weeks were thus lost; but having, at length, gathered together a sufficient force, the king prepared to take the way towards Jerusalem as soon as the fortification of Joppa were completed.

In the meantime, however, the English monarch did not altogether apply himself to the toils of war, but indulged himself frequently in the sports of the field, which were a passion, if not a vice, under the feudal system. With little fear of the enemy, the king rode forth from time to time, to fly his falcons in the neighbourhood of Joppa; and on one occasion, his temerity had nearly cost his life or his liberty. He had ridden out with but a few attendants to some distance from the camp, and exhausted by the heat and exertion, had fallen asleep in a solitary place where he thought himself perfectly secure. The Mussulmans, however, had probably obtained intelligence of the monarch's imprudent habits; and he found himself suddenly attacked by a considerable body of the enemy. The

courage of Richard proved dangerous to him on this occasion; for springing on his horse but half awake, and followed by his attendants, he attacked the enemy, sword in hand, and drove them before him. Their flight, however, was a mere stratagem. An ambush had been laid in the woods around, and the monarch was surrounded by an overpowering force of the enemy. He was saved only by the devotion of a provençal knight, named William de Pratelles, who understanding something of the language of the country, exclaimed aloud while combating valiantly, that he was the Malec Ric. The assailants were not acquainted with the person of the king; and directing their whole efforts to the capture of William de Pratelles, suffered the monarch and several of his companions to escape. A number, however, were killed or taken prisoners; and amongst the former were four gentlemen of high distinction closely attached to the person of the king.

Having been joined by a larger body of his friends, Richard made every effort to overtake the party of Saracens by which he had been attacked, and to rescue the prisoners from their hands; but they had proceeded too far, and night coming on, the pursuit was abandoned. There was much reason to apprehend that the captives would be put to death, for the massacre of prisoners on both parts

had given a most sanguinary character to the war; but by this time the evils of such an inhuman system were felt by Saladin and by the crusaders, and William de Pratelles was spared, notwithstanding the disappointment occasioned in the Mahommedan camp by the discovery that he had been mistaken for the king. Richard had afterwards the satisfaction of ransoming his faithful follower, and from this period, a greater degree of courtesy and mildness was apparent in the conduct of the war.

On the present occasion, as on many others, the counsellors of the English monarch remonstrated strongly against the unnecessary exposure of his life; but Richard paid little attention to their representations, and a very few days after, though with a nobler object, cast himself into peril not less than that from which he had just escaped. A small body of Knights Templars, with their serving brothers, had ridden forth in search of forage, while Richard was employed in repairing the walls of the castle of Maey, and were suddenly attacked in the plains by a greatly superior force of the enemy. It would seem, indeed, that they had been watched forth from the Christian camp, and that measures had been taken to surround them completely by four overwhelming masses of Turkish cavalry; but upon this occasion the accustomed valour of the brotherhood, which by excess of temerity, often led them into fatal enterprises, proved the means of their salvation. No attempt was made to fly, but springing from their

horses,* they set back to back, and presented an impenetrable front to their assailants on every side. They were nearly overpowered, however, when a temporary succour was afforded them by the arrival of Andrew de Chamgui,† with fifteen other knights, who boldly cut their way through and ranged themselves by the side of their fellow crusaders. The number of the enemy, however, increased every moment, and so great was the din of the strife and the appearance of tumult in the plain, that the attention of Richard himself was called from a distance to the spot, and he commanded the Count of St. Paul and the gallant Earl of Leicester to ride down with all speed to the scene of combat, while he armed himself in haste to follow. The two leaders, on arriving on the banks of a stream, found their farther progress opposed by a body of two thousand Mussulmans, while an equal number still surrounded the handful of Templars, determined to overcome their pertinacious resistance. Under these circumstances, it would seem, the Count of St. Paul proposed to the English earl that, dividing their forces into two, the one should attack the enemy, while the other remained as a reserve, to give aid when

* In the little history of Richard, which I have before noticed, it is stated that the Turkish cavalry came upon the Templars before they could mount their horses; but Vinesauf distinctly says, "expedite descenderunt ab equis suis," in speaking of the Knights Templars when attacked by the enemy.

† This name is usually rendered Savigni.

needful, and keep up the communication with the camp. The earl did not choose to take the inactive part upon himself, but with his own men charged the enemy, and liberated two of the knights who had been taken. Leicester, however, and his band were soon lost amongst the immensely superior numbers of the enemy, and when Richard arrived with but very few followers, his friends urged him vehemently not to risk his person and the hope of Christendom by entering personally into so unequal a combat. But the king would not listen for a moment, and plunged, sword in hand, into the midst of the Mussulmans, clearing a path by his single arm wherever he came, and slaying the emir, who appears to have been in command of the enemy's troops, with his own hand. Terror and confusion spread before the face of the lion-hearted monarch; and instead of reaping an easy victory over a handful of gallant but imprudent enemies, the Saracens fled in every direction, leaving a multitude of killed and wounded on the field, and several captives in the hands of the Christians. It is particularly remarked by the English historian, that no French troops were engaged in this combat.

A new incident was now about to chequer the history of this crusade, and negotiations for peace were mingled with the din of arms. Difficulties multiplied upon the path of the King of England. Both the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Austria were jealous of the superiority of Richard, and the

French and German troops seconded his efforts but coldly in the field, while their leaders opposed or thwarted him in the council. It is probable, however, that the immediate cause of Richard's proposing to treat with Saladin, was the faithless and treacherous conduct of Conrad of Montferrat, who, not contented with remaining inactive in Tyre without giving the slightest assistance to the champions of the cross, commenced the most base and treasonable negotiations with the sultan, offering to turn his arms against his fellow-Christians, upon the condition of receiving from the hands of the Saracen prince the towns of Sidon and Berytes, in addition to the territory he already possessed. Saladin listened complacently to his proposals, and agreed to his terms, but upon the condition that Conrad should appear in arms against Richard before the towns were placed in his hands.*

The proposals of Richard were more dignified and consistent with his character; for he demanded boldly, as the condition of peace, that Jerusalem, with all the territory between the river Jordan and the sea, should be ceded to the Christians.† Saladin,

* Ibn Alatir.

† The statements of the European and Asiatic writers in regard to the whole of this transaction are opposed to each other on many points. Vinesauf says, that Richard demanded that the whole kingdom of Syria, as he terms it, should be restored to the Christians as it was held by Baldwin the Leper; and also, that a tribute formerly paid by the Saracens to the King of Jerusalem should be renewed; and he goes on to state

according to the statement of Vinesauf, did not directly decline the proposal of the English king, but sent his brother to negotiate, and, as the Christian writers affirm, to amuse the English monarch with false expectations. It is probable that this statement is correct, for we know positively that Malek-adel did visit the camp of Richard, and was splendidly entertained by him in the plains between the fortresses called the Castle of the Temple and the Castle of Joshaphat. As customary in the east, the Mahommedan prince brought presents with him, amongst which were seven valuable camels and a magnificent tent. What course the negotiations took it is not possible to say; for it is probable that the diplomatic secrets of two courts were even more strictly guarded in those days than at the present time, when little certain information is to be obtained. It is clear that a considerable degree of intimacy arose between Richard and the Mussulman prince, and that small presents were daily exchanged, much to the scandal of the more devout crusaders, who looked upon such familiarity with an infidel as highly reprehensible. Richard

that Saladin agreed to restore the territory from the river Jordan to the sea, upon condition that Ascalon should never be re-fortified, either by the Christians or the Mahommedans. Boha-eddin, however, who took part in the negotiations, declares that Richard demanded the territory mentioned above, comprising the city of Jerusalem, and also the true cross, but that Saladin positively refused to give up one or the other.

treated their murmurs with contempt, and continued to receive Malek-adel with every mark of distinction.

In one of their conferences, the King of England, whose passion for music and poetry is well known, expressed a strong desire to hear some of the performers of the country, and Malek-adel immediately gratified him by causing a female slave to be brought before the monarch to sing and play upon the lute.* The most extraordinary incident of the whole negotiation was a proposal on the part of Richard, vouched for by almost all the Arabian writers, to bestow the hand of his sister Joan, Queen of Sicily, upon Malek-adel. The kingdom of Jerusalem was to be their united portion, and the Christian princes, as well as Saladin, were to guarantee the independence of this strange monarchy. It is hardly possible to doubt that such an arrangement was suggested, for Boha-eddin himself, who mentions the fact, as well as Ibn Alatir, took part in the negotiations. It is to be remarked, however, that although Malek-adel very naturally did not object to add the fair princess to the number of his wives, Saladin never looked upon the proposal as serious; and Aboulfaragus, in his Syrian chronicle, distinctly points out that Richard, who was by nature gay and fond of jest, made the suggestion as a joke, or if there was anything at all serious in it, the

* Ibn Alatir.

intention was to create dissension between Saladin and his brother, without the slightest intention of carrying out so wild and impracticable a scheme.

The intimacy, however, which arose between Richard and Malek-adel never ceased, notwithstanding the fierce renewal of the war; and I shall have to notice hereafter an act of chivalrous courtesy on the part of the Mahommedan prince, as well as the very extraordinary fact of Richard having bestowed the honour of knighthood on the son of King Adel, shortly before his departure from the Holy Land.

The events which I have mentioned above, took place towards the autumn of the year, and the Christian forces suffered considerably shortly afterwards, from a stormy and tempestuous season, especially during their march towards Ramla, which had been dismantled by the sultan. The whole country had been laid waste, and the rains having fallen heavily, it became necessary not only to divide the army, a part of which took up its quarters in Ramla, while the rest were posted in Bethanopolis and other small towns and castles, but to send out parties seeking for provisions almost to the gates of Jerusalem. The capture of two hundred oxen being marked as a very joyful event, shows the state of destitution to which the army was reduced; and Guy of Lusignan, with Stephen of Torneham, retreated to Acre, both in order to relieve the district

of Ramla from a force which it was incapable of supporting, and to maintain the first city conquered by the crusaders against the machinations of Conrad and those who were now leagued with him.

In the meantime, constant and harassing hostilities were kept up by Saladin against the divided forces of the Christians; and on one occasion the Earl of Leicester, exposing himself rashly, with a small force, was surrounded and nearly made prisoner by the Saracens, but receiving assistance from the camp, in the end utterly defeated the enemy, and returned in triumph to his sovereign.

The lower class of the crusaders bore up gallantly and firmly against the dangers and inconveniences to which they were subject, cheering themselves with their proximity to Jerusalem, and expecting every day to be led to the gates of the holy city; but the season was adverse, forage was with the greatest difficulty procured for the horses and food for the men; and every precaution had been taken by Saladin to prepare the Holy city for a resolute and protracted resistance. Richard, it would seem, was most anxious to commence his march for the accomplishment of the first great object of his expedition; and he advanced in person, towards the beginning of the new year, to Bethanapolis, which lies at the distance of only a few leagues from Jerusalem itself. On the journey, a part of the advanced guard of his army was entrapped in an ambuscade; but, though several of the crusaders were killed at

the first onset, the rapid approach of the king, and the impetuous fury with which he attacked the enemy, soon turned their victory into defeat.

The progress of Richard, however, was not destined to be carried farther towards the Holy city. The two military orders strongly opposed the advance of the king, as well as a great number of the barons of Palestine, representing to him the impossibility of supplying his army at a distance from the sea, the great diminution of his forces, and the certainty that the whole troops of Islam would unite for the defence of a city which they regarded with as much veneration as the Christian. Richard still hesitated, unwilling to abandon or postpone so great an object, especially at a moment when Saladin had suffered the larger portion of his army to retire to their homes; and before he would consent to retreat, Richard caused a plan of the city of Jerusalem and the neighbouring country to be drawn out and laid before him, which he examined with the greatest attention.* If we are to believe the account of the Arabian historians, Richard from that moment gave up the hope of conquering Jerusalem so long as Saladin lived, perceiving all the difficulties which its situation presented to an attacking force, with the eye of an experienced general, and judging that so skilful a commander as the sultan would not fail to make the most of every advantage which the ground afforded.

* Ibn Alatir.

To the great dissatisfaction of all the inferior crusaders, the advance upon Jerusalem was consequently abandoned; and it was determined that the next effort of the army should be to repair the fortifications of Ascalon. One cause of Richard's retreat may undoubtedly have been the dissensions which existed in the camp of the crusaders, for it is very evident that the three great powers, England, France, and Austria, were no longer acting in concert. One historian,* indeed, lays the whole blame of the disappointment upon the Duke of Burgundy; and his words are very remarkable, as they do not proceed from one who was at all inimical to the French, but probably a native of France himself. After describing the arrangements for the march upon Jerusalem, the author says, "When the divisions of the army were arranged, every one went to his quarters. Then the Duke of Burgundy thought deeply; and when he had thought, he sent for the barons of France, and said to them, 'My lords, you know that our Sire, the King of France, has returned, and that all the flower of his kingdom has remained here; and that the King of England has but a small number of people, compared with us. If we go to Jerusalem, and take the city, it will not be said that we took it, but they will say the King of England has taken it, which will be a great shame to France, and a great re-

* Bernard, the treasurer.

proach; and people will say, too, that King Philip had fled, and that King Richard captured Jerusalem, which will be for ever a reproach to France.' Many agreed to do his will, though there were some who would not consent. The Duke of Burgundy caused his troops to take their arms, and return towards Acre."

Such is the statement of Bernard, the treasurer; and we find it clearly proved by Vinesauf that the duke really did quit the main army of the crusade immediately after it had reached Ramla, the first stage on the way to Ascalon. The retreat from Bethanapolis, it would appear, was rendered painful and disastrous, not by the attacks of the enemy, but by the inclemency of the weather and the unhealthy state of the army. Multitudes of sick and famishing people were seen bewailing their fate, when they thought of the long and dreary march to Ascalon; and lamentations were general throughout the whole camp. But Richard, with kindly generosity, undertook the care of all, sent out in every quarter to seek the sick and the weak, and provided them with means of transport as far as Ramla. In that city, the dispersion of the crusading force began. A multitude of the common soldiers deserted, indignant at not having been led to Jerusalem. The French went off in large bodies; some to spend their time in idleness at Jaffa, some to seek the pleasures of Acre, some to join the Marquis of Montferrat, who eagerly courted all deserters to swell the forces of

Tyre. The Duke of Burgundy himself retired to some distance from Richard's quarters, and spent eight days in refreshing his troops preparatory to taking a northward course also. Count Henry of Champagne, however, remained faithful to his royal uncle; and no way dismayed, either at the difficulties of the task before him, or the defection of his allies, the English monarch led his diminished army through dangerous paths, amidst snow, hail, and torrents of rain, to the gates of Ascalon, which city he reached on the twentieth day of January, 1192. So complete had been the destruction of the walls and towers by the sultan, that it was with difficulty the troops passed through the ruined gates; and even when they had obtained shelter in the deserted town, the scarcity of provisions was rendered more severe than ever, by the tempestuous state of the weather, which prevented a single vessel from entering the port during eight days.* At the end of that time, some supplies were obtained; but several of the king's ships perished at sea, with all on board.

The vast extent of the fortifications of Ascalon, and the difficulties of the work he had undertaken, speedily proved to Richard the impossibility of repairing the defences of the place, without the aid of his French allies, before that period of the year at which he might again expect to be attacked by the sultan. In these circumstances, he overcame his indignation at the conduct of the Duke of Bur-

* Vinesauf.

gundy and his troops, and sent messengers to them, exhorting them to return and labour with him in the common cause. Some difficulties were made; but at length the greater part of the French troops joined the English monarch at Ascalon, stipulating that they should be permitted to retire again after Easter, if they chose. The re-edification of the walls then proceeded rapidly: princes, nobles, knights, and soldiers, the clergy and the laity, all labouring together, and Richard setting the example with his own hands.

The reunion of the whole Christian forces of Palestine for the attack of Jerusalem in the succeeding spring, seemed to be now Richard's great object; and we find that he even sent messengers to urge upon Conrad of Montferrat the propriety of co-operating with the other crusading princes. That ambitious nobleman, however, refused to present himself in Ascalon, without a previous conference with the King of England; and very soon after, all Richard's designs for the reunion of the Christian forces were frustrated by a new dispute with the Duke of Burgundy. The portion of the French forces which had been left behind by Philip Augustus had, it would seem, been greatly neglected by their sovereign, and were reduced to complete penury for want of pay.* Their urgent applications

* Vinesauf uses the words, "Super sibi debitis stipendiis;" which would seem to imply that the French soldiers had been engaged at a regular rate of pay, which they had not yet received.

to the Duke of Burgundy, induced that prince to apply to Richard for a fresh loan; but it would seem that a very large sum was already due from the duke; and Richard, whose own treasures were well nigh exhausted, absolutely refused to advance any more. Under these circumstances, the duke retired indignantly from Ascalon, taking with him a considerable number of his soldiers.

The Duke of Austria also abandoned the main army of the Crusade about the same time, but the cause of his defection is more obscure. We are told that when Richard sent to request him to take part in the labours at Ascalon, he replied haughtily that he was neither a carpenter nor a stone-mason, and that, on being summoned to the presence of the king, he made the same vain and impertinent reply. This answer, it is added, so incensed the impetuous monarch, that he kicked him, in the presence of the whole court, and forbade him ever to display his banner again in the army under his command. The Austrian prince immediately withdrew from the Crusade; and we are assured that he threatened to take vengeance whenever he should find an opportunity.*

While the Duke of Austria made his way slowly

* I give the story as I find it, but I am much inclined to believe, that if not altogether an invention, the facts were greatly altered and embellished by the English historians, after Richard had been so shamefully imprisoned by the Austrian prince.

towards his own territories, the Duke of Burgundy directed his march towards Acre, the loose pleasures of which place had already too much captivated his licentious soldiery. But Acre and the surrounding territory was now a scene of fierce contention between the Pisans and the Genoese, who, rivals in their own country, had speedily become partisans in the Holy Land, attaching themselves to one or the other of the two great factions into which the Christians of the east were divided. The Pisans, from the first, had adhered to the cause of Guy of Lusignan, supported as he was by the King of England. The Genoese, on the contrary, had been speedily won by the King of France and Conrad of Montferrat. Both bodies had, unfortunately, been quartered at Acre for the winter, and constant tumults had taken place, ending frequently in bloodshed; but shortly before the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, the heated and angry feelings on each side had proceeded to actual civil war. Recourse was had to arms; and the two factions were drawn out in battle array, when the Duke of Burgundy, with his forces, appeared in the plains near the city. The Genoese were greatly elated at his arrival, but the Pisans were far from losing heart; and taking it for granted, it would appear, that the duke had come to the assistance of their adversaries, they attacked him and his forces, lance in the rest, hurled him from his horse, and having secured their

way back to the city, retreated into Acre, shutting the gates upon their opponents.* The duke and the Genoese, encamped without the walls, immediately sent off messengers to Tyre, requesting the aid of Conrad to besiege the city, and promising to give it up to him, notwithstanding the decision which had been previously come to by the council. The ambitious prince showed no coyness in yielding to their solicitations, but at once set sail with the galleys of Tyre; and the Pisans thus saw themselves besieged both by land and sea. They defended the town, however, undauntedly, receiving Conrad with showers of missiles from their mangonels; but at the same time they took care to send off messengers to Richard, beseeching him to hasten to their aid. It would appear that the King of England had already advanced as far as Cesarea, for the purpose of conferring with Conrad, and of inducing him to join his forces to those of the other Christian princes in the war with Saladin; and at that city Richard was found by the messengers from Acre. He immediately hurried forward to the relief of the place; but neither Conrad of Montferrat nor the Duke of

* I find no cause to believe that the Duke of Burgundy had given the Pisans any just cause for supposing that he came to aid the Genoese. Other authors have read the chronicles of the time differently; and it is very probable that the Duke would have supported the partisans of Conrad of Montferrat, but that he had actually declared himself does not appear.

Burgundy thought fit to await his coming, but retreated to Tyre, leaving the Pisans and the Genoese to settle their differences as they might.

It is no unimportant part of the task of a biographer to show those strange discrepancies in the character and conduct of the individual whose history he relates, which are discoverable in almost all men, and were peculiarly to be remarked in Richard Cœur de Lion. Passionate, violent, and impetuous, he showed himself upon a thousand occasions; but yet at other times, when any great object was in view, or any predominant desire might be frustrated by intemperance, we frequently find the English monarch displaying extraordinary moderation, patience, and gentleness. Such was the case in the present instance, if we can put any faith in the historians of the time. Instead of repressing the Genoese with a strong hand, or even reproving them with severity, we find that the calmest and most temperate politician could not have dealt more prudently or more successfully between two irritated and jealous factions. He reasoned, he exhorted, he persuaded, he argued. No force, no threats, no punishment was employed; but merely by making both parties ashamed of private contentions, when the common cause of Christendom was at stake, and by exciting their enthusiasm once more for the great end which they had in view when they quitted their native land, he succeeded in quieting the animosity that

existed between the Pisans and Genoese, and in restoring peace and unanimity between them. Laying aside, also, all consideration of the past conduct of Conrad of Montferrat, his ambition, his subtlety, and his treachery, Richard made one more important effort to recal him to a sense of duty. He called him to a conference before he retired to Ascalon, and, well aware of the great military abilities of the young lord of Tyre, urged him warmly to forget all private interests, and unite his forces to those of the other crusaders. Conrad excused himself, upon frivolous pretences; and Richard parted from him more exasperated than before. A threat of depriving him of all that he possessed in Palestine was then held out by the King of England; but Conrad, strong in the support of the Duke of Burgundy, treated the menace with scorn, and immediately after, an imperative order was sent to the French who still remained in Ascalon, requiring them immediately to repair to Tyre.

Richard, having taken all necessary steps for the preservation of Acre, returned to his army on the Tuesday before Easter; and immediately the leaders of the French in Ascalon presented themselves before him, demanding his permission to retire. The English king endeavoured as earnestly as possible to persuade them to remain, but finding them determined to obey the commands of the Duke of Burgundy, kept his word punctually, not only permitting them to leave the city, but giving them a

considerable escort to ensure them from danger by the way.*

Great grief pervaded the crusading army at the departure of that body of French troops, which had remained most faithful to the vows they had taken when embracing the Crusade, and much satisfaction was felt at the court of Saladin; for amongst the forces which thus retired were seven hundred of the most celebrated warriors of the Cross.

* It seems to me that the whole of this transaction has been misunderstood by the author of the little history of Richard Cœur de Lion, which I have more than once had occasion to mention. From the account of Vinesauf, it does not in the least appear that Richard treated these French warriors with contempt, nor could there be any cause for his so doing, as they comprised the flower of the French chivalry, and their departure was deplored by the whole army. They were only obeying the orders of the chief appointed to command them, and it is evident that Richard treated them with the greatest respect, and that the scornful speech attributed to him is purely fanciful. The account of the transaction given by Vinesauf is so highly to the honour of the English king, and so totally opposed to that of the writers who have thought fit, on all occasions, to represent Richard as violent, intemperate, and sarcastic, forgetting or not perceiving that with age and experience he learned to moderate his passions and often to restrain his impetuous disposition, that I cannot refrain from giving the words of one who was an eye-witness to most of the scenes which he records: "Ipse quoque, nihil omittens ex contingentibus, cum eisdem processit prosequendis cum lachrymis obsecrans et blande deprecans ut cum ipso aliquantam moram facerent, ejus impensis sufficienter exhibendis ut quantum daretur desolatæ terræ succurrerent. Quos cum prorsus renuentes dimisisset abire, revursus est Ascalonem," &c.

The situation of Saladin, indeed, had become most critical, and there can be little doubt, in the mind of any one who studies the writings of the Arabian historians, that the treacherous defection of the Duke of Burgundy and the ambitious machinations of Conrad of Montferrat alone deprived Richard of a complete triumph over the adversaries of the Cross. Fatigued with long and excessive labour, the troops of the sultan, at the end of the year 1191, showed a coldness in the cause in which they were engaged, and an anxious desire for repose, which Saladin himself did not feel. Yielding to these circumstances, that great monarch, while he retired to Jerusalem, suffered the greater part of his army to return to their homes, retaining but a few thousand men to keep the Christians in check during the winter. Abandoning the negotiations with the King of England, he directed his efforts once more to conclude a treaty with Conrad of Montferrat, and the Arabs are unanimous in declaring that the terms were actually arranged. Conrad agreed, they inform us, to attack the King of England in arms, in concert with Saladin, and to liberate all the Mussulman prisoners who were in his hands, upon the condition of retaining all the territory which he might be enabled to snatch from his fellow Christians. Saladin, on his part, was to keep whatever cities or districts his own troops might conquer; and it would appear that he was eagerly urging the young Marquis of Montferrat to commence hostilities at the moment that the latter was conferring

with the King of England, between Cesarea and Acre. Conrad delayed, however, with a view of affording time for all the French forces to retire from Ascalon, in order to avoid giving offence to his ally, the King of France, and on this point the Arabian writers explain the cause of his anxiety for the withdrawal of Philip's troops from Ascalon, upon which the Christian chroniclers are silent.*

The anxieties of Saladin, however, were not alone excited by the progress of the crusaders. His nephew, Taki-eddin, Emir of Hamah, died towards the end of the year, and his son, contrary to the custom of the Saracens, took possession of his father's territories as of right, without receiving investiture from the sultan. Saladin saw in this act both an insult and a perilous precedent. The quarrel between the son of Taki-eddin and his sovereign had nearly proceeded to arms; the court of the sultan was divided, and even Malek-adel himself showed an inclination to take part with his grand-nephew.

At the same time, the troops which had been left by Richard in Ascalon and Joppa made frequent eruptions into the Mussulman territory, carried away a great quantity of booty, and cut off several parties of Saracen troops; and Richard himself, taking advantage of the position of the city which he was restoring to carry his excursions to the gates of Daroum, rendered the communication between Egypt

* Compare, for these facts, Boha-eddin and Ibn-alatir.

and Jerusalem insecure to all but large bodies of the Moslem. It is probable that the King of England was not ignorant of the differences which had arisen between Malek-adel and his brother, and that he strove as far as possible to increase them; for we find that, while Richard was at Acre, the son of the Mussulman king was sent to that city for the express purpose of receiving knighthood from the hands of the heroic King of England. That the forms of this Christian ceremony must have been greatly altered to suit the occasion there can be no doubt; but the historians have not entered into any details, merely informing us that it was performed by Richard with great magnificence, on Palm Sunday of the year 1192. It would appear that the King of England returned to Ascalon immediately afterwards; and we find that Richard was present when the last stone was placed in the new fortifications of that city, on Easter Monday of the same year.

On the following day, the king rode forth with a small retinue to examine the fortifications of Daroum and Gaza, and approached so near the walls as to be in considerable peril; but on his return to Ascalon, painful news reached the monarch from his own dominions, and gave a new direction to all his views. The Prior of Hereford presented himself at Ascalon towards the end of Easter week, bearing letters from the chancellor, William of Longchamp, which showed the king, in forcible colours, the consequences of

his long absence from England. His treasury emptied; the revenues of his kingdom seized upon by his brother; an oath of fidelity exacted by John from the nobles of the land; the clergy and many of the barons taking refuge in Normandy; and the crown itself almost within the grasp of an usurper; such were amongst the facts presented to the view of the monarch by the messenger from England.

It is probable that there was a considerable degree of exaggeration in the statements made by the chancellor; but Richard, who had full confidence in Longchamp, saw nothing but ruin and destruction before him if he remained longer in Syria, and was terribly moved by the contending passions aroused in his bosom. To leave his great enterprise incomplete, and to suffer Jerusalem to remain in the hands of the Moslem, was very painful to contemplate; but at the same time, the King of England had to consider that the loss of his insular and continental dominions would deprive him of the means of carrying the war against Saladin to a successful result. From England and Normandy his troops must be recruited and his treasury filled, and he already began to find the necessity of drawing men and money from those sources which he now learned were likely to be closed against him. On the other hand, if he left Palestine, without taking some extraordinary measures to quiet the dissensions which existed amongst the crusaders, there was every probability of the whole country being rapidly brought

under the dominion of Saladin, and the fruits of all the blood and treasure which had been spent in the crusade being entirely lost. Under these circumstances, Richard determined upon two steps, which must have cost him bitter mortification: to return to England, and to place the crown of Jerusalem on the head of Conrad of Montferrat. It is true that he allowed the whole people a voice in the election of their king, once more placing before them for their suffrages the names of Guy of Lusignan and the young Lord of Tyre; but we cannot for a moment suppose that Richard was ignorant of the choice which would be made by the crusaders. The military talents of Conrad were universally admitted; and, captivating to the multitude as those talents are in all times, they were of course still more popular in the days of chivalry. Neither could Richard conceal from himself that of all the leaders who were likely to remain in the Holy Land, there was no one but Conrad who, with a claim to the crown of Jerusalem, had sufficient powers of mind to contend successfully with Saladin. Guy of Lusignan, although he had lately displayed more energy than he had evinced at an earlier period of his history, had neither sufficient popularity nor sufficient genius even to command the turbulent hosts of the crusade, much less to struggle with one of the wisest monarchs and greatest military commanders of the day. From the beginning, he always leaned upon others, and was successful or unsuc-

cessful, according to the abilities of his favourite for the time. Conrad depended solely on himself, and bent others to his purposes. All men felt that the one, though subtle, treacherous, and deceitful, was formed for command, and not the other; and when Richard laid their names before the people, announcing his determination to return speedily to England, Conrad was elected as their leader and king without a dissentient voice. Richard, magnanimously casting away all remembrance of the enmity which had existed between Conrad and himself, instantly despatched his nephew, Henry, Count of Champagne, with two other noblemen, to bear to the young Lord of Tyre the news of his election, and to assure him of Richard's consent and support; and at the same time, he promised the people, who were greatly afflicted and dismayed at the prospect of his speedy departure, that he would leave behind him a chosen body of troops, armed and maintained at his expense, to aid in carrying on the war during his absence.

Embarking in one of the king's galleys, Henry of Champagne and his two companions speedily reached Tyre, and communicated to Conrad the distinction which had been conferred upon him, exhorting him to put forth all his energies in recovering, preserving, and governing the kingdom of Jerusalem. The joy of the young marquis was as great as might be expected from his ambitious

character. By a modern English author we are told that, "He expressed to the ambassadors his determination to prove himself worthy of the dignity he had received, and his gratitude to Richard for his candid and honourable conduct." All such speeches are probably imaginary, and it is very likely that the address to Heaven, which Vinesauf puts in the mouth of Conrad, instead of the words just cited, is equally fictitious. Holding up his hands to heaven, that author says, the marquis thus prayed—"Lord God, who hast created me and poured a soul into my body; thou who art a King both true and beneficent, grant me, Lord, that if thou judgest me worthy to govern this kingdom, I may be crowned; but if thou judgest otherwise, do not permit my elevation."*

The rejoicings in Tyre knew no bounds, and immediate preparations were made for the coronation of the new king, and for the resumption of active war against his late ally, the sultan. But the preparations were stopped, and joy turned into sorrow, by the bloody termination of Conrad's career under the knife of the murderer.

* Vinesauf puts in Conrad's mouth the words, "Regno tuo gubernando," probably applying that term to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It is to be remarked, however, that Vinesauf recorded this prayer after Conrad's death, and as he was certainly not a partizan of that prince, we may suspect a sly desire to insinuate that God did not judge Conrad worthy to reign.

That branch of the Ismaelians, or Hachachins, which, as I have previously stated,* had established itself in one of the most inaccessible parts of Mount Libanus, was ruled at this time by an Iman named Senan, whose power over the minds of his followers seems to have been fully as great as that of any of his predecessors. Nevertheless, we find few instances of their bloody trade having been exercised during the latter half of the twelfth century. They seem, indeed, to have mingled in some degree in the commercial pursuits of other nations; but still the peculiar characteristics of the tribe remained unsubdued, and the death of Conrad is one of the most remarkable instances of the patience and perseverance with which these men pursued their designs. Six months before the period of his assassination, two young men, in the garb of monks, appeared in Tyre, and attached themselves to the households of Renault of Sidon, and Balian of Ibelin. They showed themselves strict in all the religious exercises of the Christians, constant in their attendance at church, and so humble and devout, as to gain the esteem of every one in the city. Nevertheless, these two young men were, during the whole of this time, watching for an opportunity of executing the commands of their lord against Conrad of Montferrat. That prince, almost immediately after his election to the

* See book viii., vol. iii., p. 54.

throne of Jerusalem had been announced to him, was regaled at a grand dinner by the Bishop of Beauvais. He took his leave, after the feast was concluded, full of wine and mirth, and riding home, was passing through the open space before the custom-house of the city, when the two pretended monks threw themselves upon him, and wounded him in several places with their knives. Conrad instantly fell from his horse; and the assassins took to flight. One, however, was caught by the marquis's attendants ere he could escape, and was killed upon the spot. The other concealed himself in a neighbouring church. According to the most generally received account, the wounded nobleman was carried into the same building to have his wounds dressed. As soon as the young Ismaelian beheld him still in life, utterly careless of his own safety, he cast himself upon the dying man, and dispatched him with repeated blows. Some authors assert that this murderer was skinned alive; others, that he was put to death after long interrogatories, not unaided by the torture. All the English contemporary historians declare that the murderers, at their death, made no confession, except that they slew the young Marquis of Montferrat in obedience to the commands of their lord, the Old Man of the Mountain. The French, however, founded upon this lamentable event an accusation against Richard to the effect that he had bribed the scheick or emir of the

Hachachins to compass the death of Conrad, and the rumour was very generally circulated both through Europe and Asia.

I have given a bare narrative of the events which occurred, as far as we know anything of them with certainty; but it may not seem unnecessary to pause for a moment here and inquire, whether this charge against Richard, which afforded a pretext for every sort of base and ungenerous act towards him, was founded even in probability. In the first place, we are bound to ask whether the act attributed to the English king was at all consonant with his character. In the next, we may demand whether the conduct of the Hachachins, as stated by the French, was at all compatible with their habits and vows. Thirdly, we are called upon to decide whether the existing circumstances show any reasonable and sufficient motive for so detestable an act as that which is attributed to the English king. Fourthly, we may inquire by what testimony the charge is generally supported.

That Richard was violent and irascible no one can doubt, but there is not a single instance on record of his having nourished a spirit of implacable vengeance. Even in the case of William des Barres, when personal rivalry had produced personal hatred, we find the generous heart of the monarch re-asserting its sway as soon as the first effervescence of passion had passed away with time. Nor did Richard's worst enemies accuse him of

subtlety and deceit; and yet the most cold-blooded and pertinacious revenge must be supposed to have actuated the monarch, if this charge was true, while at the same time, in the pursuit thereof, he must have displayed infinite cunning and falsehood, if we are to suppose that he not only held a conference with Conrad, for the purpose of inducing him to act cordially with the rest of the crusaders, but even assented to his election as king of Jerusalem, and sent his own nephew to assure him of his consent and support, knowing all the time that he was to be assassinated at his instigation as soon as an opportunity presented itself.

Everything that we know of the habits of the Ismaelians leads us to believe that the most extreme tortures were incapable of wringing from them any confession, and that they were firmly impressed with the idea, that if they showed any such weakness, they would deprive themselves of those rewards and pleasures in another world for which they were content to suffer death and agony here below. Nor was it at all the habit of the Iman to give his murderous agents any reason whatever for the acts that he called upon them to perform. It was quite sufficient for them to know that he had pronounced any individual unfit to live, in order to induce them to accomplish that man's death. The fiat went forth; and it was executed without inquiry. Thus it is utterly improbable that a man of Richard's character should have prompted

the deed, that the assassins should have known at whose suggestion it was undertaken, or that they should have confessed it even if they had been aware.

The probability is still farther diminished by a consideration of the circumstances under which the act was performed. As the two assassins were, by all accounts, more than six months in Tyre, watching their opportunity to commit the murder, the deed must have been suggested about the period of the surrender of Acre at the very latest,* when Philip of France was still present in the camp, when each monarch watched the other with the keen eyes of jealous hatred, and when any communication between Richard and the Iman of the Hachachins must have been immediately known. At that time, also, Richard had not been two months in Palestine, a great part of which time had been consumed in illness, and the rest in active military operations. His name and his reputation would also have been compromised irretrievably by the mere rumour of negotiations with a tribe so universally detested as

* I have calculated that it must have taken a considerable time to conduct the negotiation for such an object, to select the fitting instruments, and to instruct them so perfectly in the course which they were to pursue, as we find had been done. They were disguised as monks, taught to demean themselves as such, directed to attach themselves to persons, one of whom at least was beyond suspicion, and so perfect in their lessons in all respects, that they completely deceived the most attached friends of the Lord of Tyre.

the Ismaelians; and it was not till some time after the fall of Acre that Conrad's enmity to Richard was fully manifest. At the time when the young Lord of Tyre was negotiating with Saladin, almost without disguise, and pledging himself to take arms against his fellow-crusaders, the two assassins were within the gates of his city, waiting only for an opportunity to put him to death; and at the time the deed was actually consummated, Richard had not only aided to raise him to the throne of Jerusalem, but had pledged himself to leave a considerable body of his troops to assist him in recovering the crown. There was thus no sufficient motive on the part of Richard for such an act, either at the period when the two Ismaelians entered Tyre, or at the period when the assassination was consummated.

If we look at the testimony by which the charge was supported, we shall find it utterly frivolous, and often contradictory. That the rumour which attributed Conrad's death to the instigation of Richard originated with the French is, I believe, universally admitted; but it must be remembered that the King of France was at this very time showing himself the undisguised enemy of his former friend, and that his troops in the Holy Land had at this very period snatched from the British monarch, by their defection, the hope, if not the possibility, of recovering Jerusalem to the Christians. It is true that the rumour spread to the Arabs, but it will be found

that those very authors who reported* it, were ignorant of the fact that Richard had been instrumental in designating Conrad for the leader of the Christian forces after his own departure; and at the same time, one of the most learned and best informed of the Arabian writers, who had under his hands a great portion of the correspondence of Saladin, and was a personal friend of that prince,† boasts that the deed was perpetrated at the suggestion of the sultan. Ibn Alatir states distinctly that Saladin wrote to the Iman of the Ismaelians, offering him ten thousand pieces of gold if he would cause both Richard and Conrad to be put to death, and that the Iman agreed to procure the death of Conrad, but refused to aid in the assassination of Richard, in order not to deliver Saladin from all his enemies at once, and to leave the hands of that great prince free to act against a sect who were a disgrace to the land they inhabited. This is the only thing like direct testimony that we have; all the rest is vague rumour; and when the situation of Ibn Alatir is remembered, his means of information, his personal friendship for the sultan, and his general impartiality, his testimony is at all events sufficient to free Richard from the imputation of having participated, directly or indirectly, in the crime ‡

* Boha-eddin. Emad-eddin. † Ibn Alatir.

‡ For various accounts of the death of Conrad, see Hoveden, page 716. Scriptores Decem, col. 1243. Vinesauf, lib. v., cap. xxvi. Guil. Neubrig, lib. iv., cap. xxiv.

Were collateral proof wanting of the fact that the assassins did not, as the French asserted, name Richard as the instigator of the deed they had committed, it would be found in the conduct of Isabella, the widow of the murdered man. The French at this time were encamped without the walls of Tyre, to the number of nearly ten thousand men, and immediately after the funeral of Conrad, they called upon the princess to give up the city to their custody. Isabella, however, pointedly and distinctly refused, stating that the last dying commands of her husband were, to open the gates of Tyre to none but Richard, as the person who had most generously laboured for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Irritated by this refusal, it would seem, the leaders of the French entertained a design of seizing by force that which was refused to threats and persuasion. But in the midst of their deliberations, a new actor appeared upon the scene, whom they might be afraid to contend with, and unwilling to offend. Henry, Count of Champagne, after fulfilling his mission to the Lord of Tyre, had returned at once to Acre, whither the news followed him of the death of Conrad. His popularity was great with all parties; he was related both to the French and to the English king; his valour and conduct had been proved on many occasions; and after the death of James of Avesnes, he was considered by all men as the pride of the Christian chivalry. The intelligence which reached him at Acre induced

him at once to return to Tyre; and the people of that warlike city hailed his arrival, as that of one sent by God for their deliverance from the perilous circumstances in which the death of their former sovereign had left them. They tumultuously proclaimed him their lord and leader, and urged him strongly, we are told, to assume the crown of Jerusalem, and unite his fate with the widowed daughter of Almeric. It is not probable that she who had so willingly consented to a divorce from her first husband and yielded herself to the arms of Conrad, should prove very inexorable to the solicitations of the gallant Count of Champagne; nor that the bloody death of a second husband, after the light divorce of a first, should weigh very heavily against the exigencies of the time, and perhaps the inclinations of the princess. We find no opposition mentioned on her part. Henry of Champagne, however, delayed his decision till he had consulted his uncle Richard, and messengers were immediately dispatched to Ascalon, to communicate intelligence of the events which had taken place at Tyre, and to ascertain the opinion of the king. Richard, we are assured, was greatly moved by the death of Conrad; but, maintaining the views which he had previously announced in regard to the marriage of that prince to Isabella, he advised his nephew to assume the crown of Jerusalem, which was offered to him by a large and warlike body of the Christian population, but not

to marry the widow of the Lord of Tyre, because her marriage with that prince in the lifetime of her first husband was unlawful and adulterous. At the same time, he urged the count to rejoin him with all speed, and if possible to induce the French who were before Tyre to accompany him.

It appeared to the nobles of Palestine assembled in Tyre that the title of Henry to the crown of Jerusalem would not be secure without his union with Isabella; and although the count hesitated greatly from the fear of offending his uncle, yet when the French added their persuasions, in the hope, perhaps, of producing dissensions between that prince and Richard, Henry of Champagne yielded to the universal voice, and married the widow of Conrad in somewhat indecent haste.

Necessity is often urged in palliation of unjust acts, and, doubtless, this plea was powerful with Richard, in appealing to the people of Palestine, as we have seen he did, to choose between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, when a solemn decision had previously assigned the crown of Jerusalem to the former for life. No such excuse, however, can be urged for the gift which he now made of the city of Acre, and the country of Jaffa, which had been already bestowed upon other parties, to Henry of Champagne. A sense of this iniquitous liberality probably induced Richard at this time to confer the empire of Cyprus, which he had previously

sold to the Templars for a sum of money, upon Guy of Lusignan.* It would appear, from the words of Vinesauf, that in the act of sale to the Templars, there was a clause of redemption, and a reservation of sovereignty, and that Guy bound himself to pay back the purchase money of three hundred thousand gold pieces to the knights. The revenues of Cyprus, under a wise and temperate government, would soon afford the means; and the violent dissensions which had taken place between the inhabitants of the island and their new lords, probably rendered the latter very willing to enter into the arrangement proposed by Richard. It would seem that the rule of the great military order in Cyprus had been from the first the most oppressive and tyrannical, and in the end the most bloody, that the natives had ever

* The words of Vinesauf on this subject are somewhat obscure. It is clear that the money which the Templars had paid for Cyprus was repaid, but by whom does not clearly appear. This historian says, "Veruntamen Rex Richardus .... Insulæ Cypri, quamvis eam prius Templarii à rege emissent eidem contulit gratis Imperium. Sicque Rex Guido, Templariorum emptionis commutata conditione, Insulæ Cypri factus est Imperator." It is worthy of remark that Vinesauf, in this chapter, gives the highest possible character to Guy for probity, sincerity, and honour. Hoveden does not make any mention of the sale of Cyprus to the Templars, but says, after relating the death of Conrad and the election of Henry of Champagne to the kingdom which had been previously settled upon Guy for life, "Et rex Angliæ dedit in excambium regi Gwidoni insulam de Cypre, in vita sua tenendam."

known. Insurrection spread from one end of the land to the other, and the sword of the Temple was employed in slaughtering Christians, instead of upholding the cause of the Cross in Palestine. The politic, the wise, and the virtuous in the order must all have been well pleased to see such a state of things brought to an end; and the repayment of three hundred thousand pieces of gold might well be looked upon as an equivalent for disputed rule over an insecure possession.

The Count of Champagne, now become King of Jerusalem, did not neglect the injunction of his great relation and ally; and it would seem that he found less difficulty than might have been expected in persuading the Duke of Burgundy and the French leaders to lay aside their enmity towards Richard, and once more co-operate with that monarch for the recovery of the Holy City. His nuptials had been but a few days celebrated, when he once more took the field, and directing his march by Acre, advanced to rejoin Richard at Ascalon.

The English prince had not in the meantime been inactive. The news which reached him continually from Europe, the ambitious intrigues of his brother John, and the threatening aspect of France, rendered him restless and uneasy; and hardly a day passed without some expedition in which the king displayed as much rashness as courage, and imprudence as skill. The most important and the most successful of the efforts made by Richard before he

was rejoined by his nephew, was an attack upon the strong fortress of Daroum, the proximity of which to the frontiers of Egypt, whence Saladin derived the greatest part of his supplies, offered many opportunities of straitening the enemy. With a very small force, the monarch attacked the place shortly before Pentecost, and after what would appear to have been a vigorous resistance, took it by storm at the end of four days. This conquest was hardly complete, when the forces of Henry of Champagne and the Duke of Burgundy appeared in sight; and going forth to meet his nephew, Richard surrendered the fortress to him as the first fruit of the war under his reign.*

A new spirit seemed now to animate the crusading army; and leaders and men were eager to advance to the siege of Jerusalem. Richard alone seemed to hesitate undecided, for every day showed him that prudence required his immediate return to his own dominions, if renown called him onward to the Holy City. Rumours of his approaching departure spread through the camp; but the hearts of the soldiery were elate, provisions were plenty, the weather fine, dissensions were at an end, and all men, of whatever nation they might be, bound them-

* Boha-eddin says that the garrison of Daroum was put to the sword; but we learn from Vinesauf, that the number of Moslem slain in the siege was only sixty, and that the rest, to the number of three hundred, besides women and children, were made prisoners.

selves by a vow to each other, to march against Jerusalem, whether the King of England accompanied them or not.

The indecision of the monarch was brought to an end, if we may believe Vinesauf, by the eloquent exhortation of one of his chaplains, who, after having insured himself against the sudden wrath of the hasty prince, proceeded to recapitulate all the glorious deeds which Richard had performed in life, and pointed out, how all would be dimmed and clouded by the abandonment of his high and holy enterprise. The appeal was not made in vain ; and the following day it was proclaimed through all the host that the King of England would not quit the Holy Land, under any circumstances, before the Easter following.

The bustle of preparation succeeded; and Richard once more bending all his energies to the task before him, applied himself to collect the scattered soldiery of the Cross from every quarter, and to provide against that scarcity of provisions which had so often frustrated the efforts of the Crusaders. The march was commenced on Sunday in the Octaves of the Holy Trinity, and universal joy animated the hearts of the Christians, even to the softening of the rich towards the necessities of their poorer brethren. The young knights and nobles gave up their chargers to carry the baggage of the lowly while the owners of the horses marched on foot, and the purses and stores of the wealthy were

shared spontaneously with the necessitous. In several divisions, the army marched on slowly towards Jerusalem, and arrived at Bethanopolis in the early part of June. Here, however, Richard was compelled to halt, and send Henry of Champagne to bring up the dilatory; for a number of the Crusaders were still spending their time in idleness and luxury, at Acre and other cities; and the difficulties of the siege before him required the presence of every soldier who could be spared from the garrisons of the various fortresses.

The advance of the Christian army, the resolution of the King of England, and the unanimity which now reigned in the crusading host, were not unknown to Saladin, and that great prince once more prepared to repel the adversary with all the powers of Islamism. His troops were recalled from their winter quarters, provisions and military stores demanded from Egypt, and all the most celebrated officers of the Mahommedan army were called to assist in the defence of the Holy City. It would seem, indeed, that Saladin had divined the course which events would take, for he had spent the whole winter in repairing and strengthening the fortifications of Jerusalem, working with his own hands, and setting an example to all, by bringing stone for the reparation of the walls, from a distance, on the saddle of his own horse.* Emirs, priests, people,

* Ibn-Alatir.

all toiled together, and the labour of two thousand Christian captives was added to complete the defences of the place.* Thus when Richard commenced his second march towards Jerusalem, the power of the sultan was recruited by repose, and the city he went to attack was in a far more formidable state of preparation than it had ever been since it fell into the power of Saladin. Jerusalem having thus been rendered nearly impregnable, the sultan himself retired, to command the vast forces he had collected in the neighbourhood; and the state of the city and the Mahommedan camp is thus depicted by an eye-witness. "The ramparts were manned with warriors, the neighbouring heights were covered with soldiers, all the fountains round about were poisoned, the wells and the cisterns were filled up; all Mussulmans were called to the defence of the Holy City."†

* Emad-eddin.

† Boha-eddin. I have particularly marked these facts, in which every Mahommedan writer agrees, on account of the statement contained in the little history of Richard, to which I have more than once had occasion to refer, and which, in my opinion, gives a completely wrong view not only of the facts as they existed, but also of the subsequent conduct of the English monarch. Instead of this picture of preparation and resolution which the Arabian historians afford us, the work I allude to states—"At this time the Saracen dwellers in Jerusalem were so much terrified at the approach of the crusaders, that they left the city in great numbers. Saladin himself anticipated a defeat; and had Richard at once advanced, instead of encouraging a delay which only served to cool the enthusiasm of his men, the capital of Palestine would have fallen almost without resistance into his hands,

I do not find the number of troops collected by Saladin, stated with any degree of accuracy; but his army is afterwards compared to a flight of locusts covering the face of the earth, and his regular cavalry is estimated at twenty thousand: it would appear, indeed, from the anxiety of his guards to be led to a general battle, that his forces were at least equal, if not superior, to those of the Crusade.

While still waiting at Bethanopolis for the arrival of the Count of Champagne, with the troops he had gone to collect, the army of the Cross once

and the main object of the Crusade would have been accomplished."

With regard to the views of Saladin and all his principal emirs, the reader can consult Boha-eddin, of whose work a Latin translation is extant. In his account of the council held the very day before the retreat of the Christian forces, and especially in the speeches of the sultan himself, and of the famous Maschtoub, the defender of Acre, will be found proof incontrovertible that it was the intention of the Mahommedans to defend Jerusalem to the last. The only body in the army which showed any difference of opinion were the Mamalucks of the sultan's guard, who, after the council, demanded tumultuously to be led to battle. But the account of all the Arabian writers leaves no doubt that the state of preparation for defence in which Jerusalem had been placed, the immense army congregated in the neighbourhood and directed by the genius of Saladin, the distance of the Christians from their resources, the want of wholesome water, and the fiery season of the year, would have rendered the siege of the Holy City the most perilous undertaking of the whole war; and that, instead of falling without resistance, that place would, in all probability, have proved the first stumbling-block in Richard's career of glory.

more became a prey to dissension and confusion. The French demanded loudly to be led at once to Jerusalem; but Richard would not consent to so rash a step. He represented to the clamourers the state of defence in which the Holy City had been placed, and the immense force which Saladin had collected in the neighbourhood; he showed them that the wells were poisoned, the country swept of its produce, and that the troops under his command were not sufficiently numerous, either, for one division to bring water from the river while the other carried on the siege, or, during the operations against the city, to keep open the communication with Jaffa, whence all their provisions were derived. He foresaw that, as soon as they advanced across the mountains which intervene between Bethanopolis and Jerusalem, Saladin would sweep down into their rear, overwhelm the small detachment left at Lidda, cut off their supplies, and place them between a fortress, almost impregnable by any means in use at that period, and a superior army, and that in this position famine and thirst would do the work of the sword. The extent and strength of the walls he pointed out, and the facilities which the nature of the country afforded for the defence of the place; and in the end he declared his conviction that those who urged him to such an enterprise, with forces so unequal to the task, sought to tarnish his glory by defeat, and impute blame to him for an undertaking which they had suggested.

At the same time, he declared, that if it were determined to march forward, he would not abandon his companions, but, resigning the command, would accompany them, without a show of authority in a host which contemned his counsels, and without the responsibility of an undertaking which must end in defeat.

It was ultimately agreed to refer the question to a council composed of twenty persons, elected in equal numbers from the Templars, the Hospitallers, the nobles of the Holy Land, and the European crusaders. The result of their deliberation was the solemn confirmation of Richard's opinion. To attempt the siege of Jerusalem was pronounced impossible, and an attack upon Cairo* was recommended as promising much greater chances of success. Richard immediately declared his readiness to undertake that task; but the French, whose sole object, since they had advanced from Ascalon, seems to have been to embarrass his movements and lead him into difficulties, refused to accompany him, notwithstanding their solemn engagement to abide by the decision of the council. To induce them to lay aside their envious malignity, and follow to a more hopeful enterprise than that which they pretended an anxiety to undertake, Richard offered them† the use of his fleet for the transport of provi-

* "Babylonia;" Cairo so frequently called by the Latin Chroniclers.

† This is remarkable. The words of Vinesauf are, "Classem meam . . . . *eis* exhiberem."

sions and military stores, while the army proceeded by the sea-shore.* He, moreover, promised, if they consented, to lead in person seven hundred knights and two thousand men at-arms, at his own expense, to assist in the undertaking.

But the French still refused, and amused themselves with composing ribald songs and satirical ballads upon Richard, to which the Troubadour monarch replied in a caustic *sirvente*. He did not, indeed, pass the whole time between the decision of the council and the retreat of the army in these idle recriminations. Three of his spies having brought him intelligence that a large and rich caravan was on its way from Cairo to Jerusalem, guarded by a body of fifteen hundred horse and a number of foot soldiers, he marched to surprise it, followed by five hundred horse and a thousand foot. The king himself preceded this small force, riding forward by moonlight to Galatia. Information of hostile movements, however, had been carried both to the caravan and to Saladin; and while the former moved hastily forward from the place where it had at first halted, a reinforcement of five hundred cavalry was sent to support its escort, making in all two thousand horse, besides infantry. As soon as the king was aware that the enemy had decamped,

* "Per maritima." This expression has been misunderstood to imply that the proposal was to proceed to Egypt by sea. The word "ora" is frequently omitted; but "per maritima" always means, I imagine, by the sea-shore.

he commanded a party of light troops to follow, and, hanging on the rear of the caravan, to delay its march as far as possible. He himself, with the foot soldiers and heavy cavalry, came after, and ere long overtook his horse archers and cross-bow men, already engaged with the Mahommedan escort. The charge of the European knights and men-at-arms was not to be resisted; and although the soldiers of the sultan fought valiantly, they were speedily routed with great slaughter. The camels and dromedaries taken were estimated at four thousand seven hundred, besides an immense number of horses, mules, and asses, and all were loaded with the most precious commodities.* The spoils were divided by the king in equal proportions, according to a previous arrangement, between himself and the leader of the French forces which had accompanied him; but on his return to his camp, Richard, with his usual liberality, distributed

* The account of this expedition given by the Arabian historians naturally differs somewhat from that of the Europeans, and is more romantic. Richard himself, according to their statements, visited the camp of the Mohammedans disguised as a Bedouin, in order to judge with his own eyes of their number and disposition. Boha-eddin estimates the number of camels and other beasts of burden which fell into the hands of Richard at three thousand. He does not at all attempt to magnify the force with which the English monarch performed this feat, but he blames the Mussulman escort for having dispersed over the plain in search of water, and accounts for their rapid and total defeat, by saying they were attacked at dawn, still sleeping,—a statement which the Christian writers contradict.

his share of the spoil amongst the soldiery, not even excluding those who had taken no part in the expedition.

No efforts could mitigate the rancour of the French, or keep the dispirited soldiery to their standards. Very soon after the decision of the council had been pronounced, a considerable number of crusaders retired to Jaffa, and every day the defections became more and more alarming. To undertake any great operation with an army in such a state, Richard perceived was impossible, and he therefore resolved to leave the Christian possessions in the Holy Land in as defensible a condition as possible, and return to his own country, in the hope of frustrating the designs of domestic traitors and foreign foes. His retreat was conducted with great skill, and with very little loss, although Saladin followed the rear of the crusading army with an immense force. Daroum was dismantled; Ascalon was refreshed and garrisoned, in the face of the sultan's forces; and pursuing his march by Jaffa, Richard reached Acre on the twenty-sixth of July, and immediately prepared to embark for his native land.

The greater part of his forces were already in the ships; seven galleys had set sail for Beirouth, on which he intended to make an attempt on his homeward voyage; and the king himself was about to depart from Acre on the following morning, when messengers from Jaffa presented them-

selves at the door of his tent, and demanded immediate audience.

The tale they told at once roused all the chivalrous energies of the King of England; and, without a moment's delay, he prepared to retread his steps, and succour the distressed garrison of a city in which all the sick and wounded of the army had been left.

During the retreat from Bethanopolis, Richard, anxious to secure the territories gained from the Saracens to his nephew, Henry of Champagne, had carried on negotiations with Saladin for a truce. The terms proposed by Richard were, in fact, that each party should retain possession of the towns and territories which it actually held; but Saladin, well informed of the pressing affairs which required the presence of his great adversary in England, demanded that the walls of Daroum and Ascalon should be rased.* Neither would yield upon this point, and thus the treaty failed. Daroum was dismantled, by Richard's orders, but Ascalon was strengthened and its garrison reinforced; and the capture of Beirouth would have placed the whole sea-coast of Palestine, from the frontiers of the desert to Antioch, in the hands of the Christians. No sooner, then, had Richard retreated to Acre, than the innumerable hosts of the sultan were put in motion; and, while a detachment marched to support the troops in Beirouth, the monarch himself, descending into

* Boha-eddin.

the plains of Ramla, invested the city of Jaffa. As the walls had been but recently repaired, Saladin hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main;* but the Mahommedan troops were repelled at all points, and recourse was then had to the usual battering machines of the day. The resistance of the garrison and inhabitants was so gallant as to call forth the admiration even of their enemies; and Bohaeddin exclaims, after describing the unshaken aspect of the troops within the shattered walls, when innumerable breaches had been effected—"Oh, my God, what men! What courage! What resolution! What strength of soul!"

It was, however, impossible to hold out long against a force so superior as that which Saladin brought against the place; and in the midst of the most furious assault, when the only defences of the town were the breasts of the garrison, a messenger was sent to Saladin with an offer of surrender. Saladin replied, that in the excited state of his troops and the indefensible condition of the town, he could not save it from pillage, but if the Christians would retire into the citadel, he would do what he could for them. This suggestion was followed; a part of the garrison and citizens retreated to the castle, and the town was occupied by the Mahommedans, who instantly commenced the work of plunder. A considerable number of the Christian inhabitants fled to the ships, headed by Alberic of Rheims, the governor, who was severely

blamed for abandoning his companions ;* but while these fugitives sought safety at sea, the Patriarch of Jerusalem assumed the command in the citadel, and entered into negotiations with the sultan for a capitulation. The terms were speedily agreed upon. The castle, it was arranged, should be surrendered, unless succoured within a certain time,† and for the short respite allowed, each man was to pay to Saladin ten gold bezants, each woman five, and each child three of the same coins. The patriarch himself offered to become one of the hostages, and, with several distinguished persons, gave himself up to the victor.

* The whole account of this transaction, as given by Vinesauf, is exceedingly confused and contradictory. Alberic of Rheims, who is here represented as flying to the ships, and escaping by sea, is, a few sentences farther on, named amongst the hostages who gave themselves up to Saladin the same night.

† Vinesauf says, in the printed edition, that the time fixed was the following day at noon ; and yet, in the subsequent chapter, (xiv.,) he states that the messengers sent to warn Richard of the state of Jaffa told him that the town was taken, and the castle closely invested. They, moreover, referred to the capitulation, so that all these events must have occurred before they set out. Now the distance from Jaffa to Acre, according to the map beside me, is fifty-five miles as the crow flies. The messengers reached Richard's camp at Acre, the king embarked, sailed for Jaffa, was detained by contrary winds three days (triduo) at Cayphas, and yet arrived in the night preceding the day appointed for the surrender. There is a great error either in the author's statement or the printed version of this work. Boha-eddin states, that Richard had received intimation of the attack upon Jaffa before the town itself was taken, and put to sea at once.

The usual discrepancy is now found between the account of the Arabian authors and the statements of the Christians. Each accuses the enemy of breach of faith, and it is probable that the terms were not clearly defined or fully understood. It is admitted, however, by Boha-eddin, who was sent into the town by Saladin, that his monarch endeavoured to make the Christians evacuate the citadel at break of day, in consequence of having heard that Richard was on his way to deliver his friends.

The tidings which were brought to the English sovereign, just on the eve of his embarkation for Europe, showed him that no time was to be lost, if he wished to save Jaffa from the hands of the infidel, or rescue his fellow soldiers from their peril. Interrupting the messengers in their recital, he exclaimed, "Living Lord! I will go, God willing, to do what I can!" and immediately he caused the state of Jaffa to be announced to the leaders of the crusading force, with a demand that they should follow him to the relief of their brethren. The French, in the most peremptory manner, declared they would not accompany him anywhere; but the Templars and Hospitallers, with many of the Syrian knights, instantly armed, to set out under the command of Henry of Champagne. While these commenced their march by land, Richard, always ready to expose himself the first, embarked in his galleys, with eight of his chosen companions in arms and several famous Genoese

and Pisan* knights, and set sail at once for Jaffa. Contrary winds detained him for some days at Cayphas; but at length a favourable breeze springing up, brought the ships to Jaffa during the night which preceded the very day appointed for the surrender of the citadel. The king, not knowing whether the castle still held out, and seeing, as the morning rose, the shore covered with an innumerable host of Mussulmans, would not attempt to land till he had obtained some farther indication of the state of the place. His vessels had been seen from the castle, however, and the appearance of the royal galley, with its crimson hull and sails, announced that the lion-hearted monarch was there in person. A certain presbyter, at this sight, full of "devotion to the glory of the Messiah," says the Arabian historian,† sprung down from the walls of the citadel, to a small hillock of sand at their foot, and then plunging into the sea, swam off towards the king's ship. Richard was the first to descry him battling with the waves, and as soon as he had reached his ship, and told his tale, the king ordered his galley to be run straight on shore. A

* I regret that I cannot give the names of these gallant Italians, as I do not find them recorded. The eight who are mentioned by name, were, in the words of Vinesauf, "Comes Leicestriæ, Andreas de Chavegui, Rogerus de Satheya, Jordanus de Humez, Radulfus de Malo Leone, Archus de Fay, milites quoque de Pratellis."

† Boha-eddin. This author says that the presbyter employed a boat; but all other accounts declare that he swam.

cloud of arrows darkened the air as the royal bark bore on; the beach was lined with a phalanx of veteran soldiers; and on every side appeared the tents of the Mussulmans; but without pause or consideration, the galley pursued its course till the keel struck the sands, and then at once, before all others, Richard sprang into the sea, and rushed towards the land. Walter Dubois and Peter de Pratelles followed instantly, and then the other knights, accompanied by the small body of foot soldiers who were with the monarch. The lion-like courage of the English king, the awful renown of his name, and the fiery rapidity of his course, produced their usual effect upon the enemy. Sword in hand, he cleft his way, like a thunderbolt, leaving dead and dying on every side. "The Malek Ric! the Malek Ric!" was screamed by the flying foe, and a whole host fled before a mere handful, headed by the great warrior of Christendom. The Mussulmans rushed from the shore into the town, carrying consternation with them; the Christians in the citadel witnessed the scene, and recovering their courage, threw open their gates, and poured forth to support their deliverer; the Saracens were driven from street to street with terrible slaughter; Bohaeddin himself fled to the sultan, to tell the tale of Richard's arrival, and the defeat of his troops; the panic seized upon Saladin himself; and, as the English monarch, judging victory not yet complete, issued forth from Jaffa into the plain, to attack,

with his scanty band, an army of more than a hundred thousand men, the great conqueror of the East fled from before his face, and left his camp in the hands of the enemy.*

Thus ended the famous day of Jaffa, which witnessed, perhaps, the most marvellous of all Richard's wonderful exploits; nor can we attribute the glowing colouring in which this event has been painted, to the enthusiasm or the flattery of his native historian, for the Arabian writers confirm, in almost every particular, the statements of Vinesauf, and record circumstances which the European has omitted. Amongst these is the conversation which followed between Richard and some of the Mohammedan officers, who, according to the chivalrous relations which had gradually established themselves between the adverse leaders, went to visit him after the battle was over. "The sultan is a great prince," said Richard; "he is, without doubt, the greatest and most powerful at present in Islamism. Why did he retire at my approach? By God! I did not come in a state for war, but merely with the refuse of my seamen. I am not in a condition to undertake anything important. Why did he go away?" The conversation proceeded in the same tone, Richard lauding highly the military skill of Saladin,

* "The sultan did not even think himself in safety," says Boha-eddin, "in the place where he happened to be. He sent away his baggage, and retired himself to some distance. His own camp was soon occupied by the Christians, and the king remained peaceably master of Jaffa."

till at length he dismissed his visitors, charged with a new demand for peace. His message, as reported by the Arabians, is so frank and characteristic, that it must not be here omitted. "In the name of God grant me peace," he said: "It is time this war should end. My territories are a prey to civil discord. This war can be serviceable neither to you nor to me."

Some negotiations followed in the course of the next day; but the same difficulties presented themselves, and parties prepared to carry on the war.

Intelligence having reached Saladin of the march of Henry of Champagne, he put his troops in motion to cut him off by the way; but Richard instantly sent every man he could spare from Jaffa, to reinforce his nephew's army. The Sultan learned in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea that this succour had reached its destination, and instantly changing his plan, and making a retrograde movement, he hurried back to crush the King of England ere the troops from here could come to his aid.* He arrived before Richard could recal his detachments, or take any other step to increase his strength, but nevertheless, the confident expectations of the Mahommedan prince were disappointed.

During his movements upon Cæsarea, Saladin had left a large corps in observation before Jaffa,† and a small body of men, consisting of two tribes, called

* Boha-eddin. † Vinesauf.

by the Latin historians, Menelones and Cordivi, undertook to surprise the King of England in his tent, which, with that rashness from which neither argument nor experience could dissuade him, he continued to occupy in the open plain, while his troops laboured to repair the walls of the city. The attempt proved almost successful, and it is probable that Richard would have been a prisoner in the hands of the children of Islam, had not the vigilance of a Genoese soldier discovered the assailants, as they were about to rush upon the king's tent.

This event, it would seem, occurred on the morning after Saladin's return from Cæsarea; and the small force of the Christians under the walls of Jaffa was attacked by the whole power of the Sultan, a few hours after the attempt upon the King of England's person had been frustrated. According to the account of the Arabian writers, Richard had at this time with him "ten horsemen and a few hundred foot soldiers, occupying in all ten tents." The account of Vinesauf does not differ much from this statement, although he says, that there had by this time arrived in Jaffa itself nearly two thousand infantry.

Notwithstanding the smallness of his own numbers, and the overpowering force of the enemy, the English monarch "was not disconcerted," says Boha-eddin, "and arrayed his little troop upon the sea-shore. The Mussulmauns having surrounded

the Christians on three sides, poured upon them all at once as one man; but the enemy remained firm, gnashing the iron teeth of war."

Richard himself was the soul of his whole army, if army it could be called. He animated the soldiers by his calmness, by his looks, and by his words. He pointed out that there was no possibility of escape—that the only safety was in vigorous resistance, and that if they must die, they might make the infidels pay dear for their triumph over a handful of Christians. His address was hardly finished, when the Saracens charged on every side; but the firm array of the little band intimidated the first body of adversaries; and they wheeled off, pursued by the bolts and arrows of the cross-bowmen and archers. The same was the case with other corps of the Sultan's army; and the crusaders remained firm, while the hosts of Saladin turned off from their iron front without having effected anything. So far the account of Vinesauf, and that of the Arabian writers, are harmonious; but for what followed, we must depend principally upon the former, as the Mussulmans do not mention the events that succeeded, although it is admitted by Boha-eddin, that Daher, the son of Saladin, who commanded one corps of his father's army, was engaged with the little band of Richard.

Perceiving the hesitation of the enemy's squadrons, Richard determined by a bold effort to turn their indecision into discomfiture; and drawing out his

handful of horse from amongst the infantry, he charged the enemy with his usual fire and vigour.* It would not appear that the Mahommedans were at all panicstruck with this act of rashness. The English king, indeed, drove his way through several

* The act would seem almost one of madness; and some writers have supplied from imagination motives to justify Richard's conduct. They have also supplied facts as a basis for the motives. But as neither these facts nor the motives assigned are mentioned by the only writers who, we have reason to believe, were eye witnesses, I dare not admit them. Thus it has been stated that, "The Turks presently desisted from the attempt to come to close quarters, and commenced their favourite mode of warfare by hurling javelins and discharging arrows into the midst of the impenetrable phalanx;" and farther on, "This action appears little short of insanity; nor would it have been at all excusable, had there been any other way of diverting the attack from the battalion." I do not find one word in regard to the Mahommedans having hurled javelins or discharged arrows into Richard's phalanx after they had turned from its front, in Vinesauf; and Boha-eddin gives a very different account of the whole affair. The names of Richard's ten companions in this famous charge were Henry of Champagne, (who had joined his uncle with a few companions by sea, the rest of the army remaining at Cæsarea,) the Earl of Leicester, Bartholomew Mortimer, Ralph de Mauleon, Andrew de Chavigni, (probably Savigni,) Gerald de Finival, (probably Furnival,) Roger de Sacy, (perhaps Lacy,) William de Stagno, (probably De l'Estang,) Hugh de Neville, and Henry the German, (Henricus Teutonicus,) the king's standard-bearer. A modern writer has substituted the name of William de Barres for that of the last named knight, for which there is no authority worthy of the slightest consideration.

lines of the Mussulman army; but the enemy closed in rapidly upon him and his little band, resolved apparently to take their redoubted adversary dead or alive. The Earl of Leicester was unhorsed, and Ralph of Mauleon made prisoner; but the sword of the king afforded deliverance to his friends, as well as defence to himself. Cutting his way to the Earl through the multitude that pressed upon him, Richard aided him to remount. Charging the party which was dragging away Ralph of Mauleon, he speedily set his friend at liberty, and then pursued his course, mowing down the light-armed Mussulmans with his tremendous arm.

In the midst of the battle a circumstance occurred, which shows in a striking manner how strongly the Mahommedans were at this time imbued with the spirit of chivalry. Richard himself, as well as his companions, was badly mounted; for few horses had been found in Jaffa, and those feeble and incompetent to bear the enormous weight of an armed knight. During the hottest period of the contest, the king beheld a Mussulman leading up to him two splendid Arab horses, and was told by the messenger that they were a present from Malek-Adel, who besought him to accept and use them for his sake.*

* This fact is mentioned by most of the historians of the time, with slight variations. Bernard, the treasurer, attributes the act of courtesy to Saladin himself; but I have followed the account of Vinesauf as the most authentic.

In the meantime, a cry was heard that the enemy had gained the poorly-guarded city, which afforded some defence, though a very inefficient one, to the left of Richard's infantry; and hurrying thither in person with a body of cross-bowmen, the monarch drove out the assailants, and returned to carry on the strife in the open field. During his absence, fear had prevailed over example with some of his followers; and the king found several hastening towards the galleys. His exhortations and reproaches, however, led them back to the battle; and once more plunging into the thickest of the enemy's ranks, Richard enacted feats of chivalry which puzzled his companion, Vinesauf, to find acts with which to compare them. Antæus, Hector, Achilles, Alexander of Macedon, Judas Maccabæus, and Rolando, are all found unequal to afford a simile for the English monarch as he appeared upon that day; and it would certainly seem that Richard had determined to perish or to conquer on the beach of Jaffa. For some time, totally alone in the midst of a cloud of enemies, he was lost to the eyes of the little phalanx on the shore, and a belief that he had been slain prevailed. The king, however, was still sweeping down all that opposed him; and his last achievement was the overthrow of one of Saladin's most famous emirs, who, contemptuously reproaching his soldiers with idleness and laziness, spurred on to encounter the Christian champion in single combat. One blow of Richard's

hand, however, terminated his boasting and his life, cutting off, we are positively assured, the head, shoulder, and right arm at once. This terrible example seems to have struck terror into the troops around: they fell back on every side from the presence of the king, avoiding his tremendous sword, and endeavouring to bring him down with arrows. The fine temper of his hauberk resisted the stroke of missiles shot from a distance; and emerging from the opening ranks of the enemy, Richard appeared to the eyes of his anxious friends with innumerable arrows still sticking in the rings of his mail, and giving him the appearance of a hedgehog. Towards evening, Saladin withdrew his forces, leaving seven hundred of his men dead upon the field. At one period in the course of that day, according to the statement of Boha-eddin, who was present, Richard rode along the whole length of the Mussulman line, with his lance in the rest, daring the champions of the crescent to come forth and meet him hand to hand; and at another moment, we find from Ibn Alatir, he dismounted between the two armies, and causing food to be brought him, dined tranquilly in face of the enemy.

That Saladin had on the field of Jaffa a sufficient force of willing and gallant soldiers to have crushed Richard and his little band, had not the king displayed great skill as well as the most unconquerable resolution, there can be no doubt; but it is

equally certain that a large part of his army positively refused to close with the Christian troops, and that a spirit of insubordination and mutiny was very prevalent amongst them. The result of that day's efforts deeply affected the great Mahommedan leader. For three days he shut himself up in his tent, refusing to see any one, and afterwards listened to proposals for peace much more readily than before.*

Nor was Richard less eager for a suspension of arms than he had previously shown himself. He had no means of improving the advantage he had gained; his scanty forces forbade any great effort; and even had the French been willing to come to his aid, which they again refused, the tremendous exertions he had made at Jaffa had once more laid him on a bed of sickness. In this situation he had again recourse to negotiations, which were commenced by a demand on his part for fruits and snow. Saladin willingly sent him all that he required; but, at the same time, hearing by his spies that the forces of the king were daily diminishing—so much

* Boha-eddin; from whom also is derived the accounts we possess of the refusal of many of the Mahommedan bands to attack the forces of Richard. I should not perhaps have ventured to place so much reliance on Vinesauf's statements in regard to this battle, did not the Arabians admit that the Prince Daher, who commanded the right wing of Saladin's army, was engaged with Richard's troops, and did not Vinesauf refer to the part taken by several persons still living when he wrote.

so, indeed, that in the end not more than from two to three hundred men remained in Jaffa—he formed the design of seizing the person of Richard,* and even sent to inform him of his intention.† Richard answered that he would await his coming; but the situation of the Christians in Jaffa was now desperate; a pestilence raged in the city, which was attributed to the exhalations of the putrid and unburied corpses. The French refused the slightest aid; the barons of Syria were weary of the warfare, and unwilling to protract it; and as the destruction of Ascalon was the only subject of difference between the King of England's proposals and the terms offered by the sultan, Richard determined to concede that point.

Malek-Adel, always generous and chivalrous, undertook, at the request of Richard, to conduct the negotiation with his brother, and the terms were soon agreed upon. A treaty was drawn up by Boha-eddin, in which a truce of three years was granted, and the principal stipulations were, that the territories and towns of Jaffa, Cæsarea, Azotus, Cayphas, Acre, and Tyre,‡ should remain in the hands of the Christians, while the rest of Palestine

* Boha-eddin. † Vinesauf.

‡ It is stated in a late history of Richard, that "the castles and fortresses taken by the Christians since the siege of Acre, especially Ascalon, were to be demolished." It is necessary to remark, that Boha-eddin makes no mention of such a stipulation, except in the case of Ascalon.

was occupied by the Mahommedans; Ascalon was to be dismantled by equal detachments from the two armies, and the Lordships of Lidda and Ramla were to be divided.* Richard demanded that Antioch and Tripoli should be included in the truce, and Saladin required that all the Mussulman territories should enjoy the same advantage. Such was the substance of the treaty, according to the account of Boha-eddin; but Vinesauf adds several minor stipulations, which were either expressed in the document or promised by parole. Amongst these were, unrestricted commercial intercourse between the Christians and Mahommedans, and free access for the former to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.

The treaty, after having been put into proper form by the sultan's scribes, was carried to Richard for his approbation; but the English monarch was too ill even to hear it read. "You see the state I am in," he said to Saladin's deputies; "carry the treaty to my nephew and the other crusading princes. I agree to all that they determine." Henry of Champagne and the barons of Palestine, with the chiefs of the Temple and Hospital on one part, and Malek-Adel with the two sons of Saladin, and his principal emirs on the other,

* According to the Arabian historians, one-half of the territories of Lidda and Ramla were granted to Richard as compensation for the expenses which he had incurred in fortifying Ascalon.

swore to the due observance of the truce. Richard and Saladin took no oath, but gave the hand to the deputies appointed to receive their pledge; and each contented himself with the promise of the other. Peace was immediately proclaimed; and from that moment the Christians and Mussulmans mingled together, to use the expression of the Arabian writers, as if they had always been brethren. Large bands of crusaders hastened to Jerusalem; Saladin and Richard sent presents to each other; but the English king, with sorrow and disappointment, refused to visit the holy city, which he had been unable to enter as a conqueror.*

The pilgrims to Jerusalem were courteously received and kindly treated by the sultan and his emirs, and the Bishop of Salisbury especially was entertained with marked distinction; but Saladin remained ill at ease till Richard had quitted Palestine. Though he executed faithfully his part of the treaty, it would appear that he was not well contented with his own act in making peace at all. He even wrote an apologetic letter to the Khalif.† But Saladin's health was now giving way under the incessant fatigues he had endured. "I know not what may be God's will with me," he said one day to Boha-eddin; and the historian proceeds to remark, that in truth this truce, so distasteful to Saladin, was the salvation of Islamism; for he who had been the chief pillar of

* Richard of Devizes. † Abou Schameh.

the Mussulman power in Syria, only survived the signature of the treaty six months, and civil war and intestine strife spread through his vast dominions.*

Richard recovered but slowly from the sickness by which he had been attacked; and even when so far convalescent as to bear a removal to the better air of Cayphas, he was still in a weak and insecure state of health; but every fresh arrival from England showed him more and more the necessity of his presence in his hereditary dominions, and he eagerly hastened his preparations.

If difficulties and dangers had attended his course in Palestine, still greater perils awaited him on his way back, and menaced him on his arrival in England; but speed was of all things most necessary to the English king; and the situation of affairs in Normandy, as well as Great Britain, induced him to take a step which, however imprudent, was quite consonant with his bold and chivalrous character. He determined, then, to send his wife, his sister, and his army by sea, and to

* Christian writers have embellished their account of the death of Saladin with a variety of particulars which are not mentioned by the Arabian writers who surrounded the monarch at the time. Amongst the rest, the story of his having sent his shroud through the streets of Damascus, is apparently a figment. Saladin died of bilious fever, after an illness of thirteen days, during the greater part of which time he was delirious.

proceed himself by land, in order to reach more rapidly his native shores, and appear amongst his enemies when they least expected him. He was detained some time in paying his debts, and making the best arrangements he could to secure the power of his nephew in that part of Palestine which had been regained; and, consequently, his fleet set sail before him, quitting Acre on the 29th September, 1192. Richard now remained with very few attendants in the midst of many powerful enemies; but none of them, it would seem, was so dead to honour as to take advantage of his confidence. Robert de Sablé, grand master of the Temple, with whom Richard had had some serious disputes in the course of the war, now showed a noble and generous spirit towards the great monarch, and agreed to put at his disposal one of the galleys of the order, to convey him to that port in Europe where he intended to land. The king was permitted, also, to assume the habit of a Templar: and four faithful brethren of the order were appointed to accompany him. In addition to these knights, Richard's companions consisted of Baldwin de Bethune, William de l'Estang, a chaplain, and a secretary, together with a few menial servants, amongst whom was a page who could speak German, which accomplishment was probably the cause of his selection.

The conduct of European princes at this time towards the unfortunate remnant of Richard's army, was a disgrace to the men and to the age. Had

the English and Norman soldiers been a band of pirates, returning from an expedition disapproved by all Christian nations, instead of a body of pilgrim warriors, coming back from an enterprise suggested by the highest authority of the Church, and carried on with zeal, devotion, and sincerity, however mistaken, they could not have been treated with more brutal severity. In sailing towards England, one of those severe storms which frequently occur in the Mediterranean, dispersed the king's fleet, and drove many of the ships on shore. The crews and the passengers, knights, nobles, and pilgrims, were seized, cast into dungeons, and treated as prisoners of war; nor did they obtain their liberty till enormous ransoms had been extorted from them.

It is probable that intelligence of these events had not reached Richard before he set sail himself; but if it had, he might obtain some consolation in finding, that now, when he was about to depart, his character and his glorious deeds were justly estimated by many of those, whose eyes had been long blinded by party spirit and virulent jealousy. An immense number of the crusaders, of every nation and every class, accompanied him to the port of Acre when the time of his departure arrived. They recollected then, his valour, his conduct, his bounty, his generosity: they remembered that he had spent his treasures, shed his blood, perilled his life, endangered his crown, in the same cause to

which they all were devoted, and the tears, prayers, and blessings of those he was leaving behind, followed him as he sailed away from Syria, on the 9th October, 1192.*

* N.B.—Henceforward, to the conclusion of this work, the author must content himself with giving a mere sketch of the history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion from the ordinary and established authorities, as he cannot hope to cast any new light upon the subject. In the subsequent parts of Richard's life and reign, there are several very dark and difficult points, respecting which the writer of these pages is by no means satisfied. He has, however, spared no pains to arrive at more correct information, especially regarding that very obscure part of the English monarch's history—his imprisonment by the Duke of Austria, and long detention by the Emperor. After having engaged one gentleman to search for farther information at Vienna, without any satisfactory result, he intended to proceed to that capital himself, in the hopes of obtaining permission, by the influence of powerful friends, to search the archives of the House of Austria, and was already within a few hundred miles of the imperial city, when all his plans and purposes were disarranged by a severe domestic affliction, which fixed him for many months to one spot. By the time that the cause of his sojourn in the place where he had remained, was at an end, it became necessary for him to return to England, so that he was deprived of the hope that his own researches might throw light upon these obscure transactions. Not giving up all expectation, however, he requested two friends of great erudition and perseverance to undertake the task, which they readily did, but unfortunately without the desired result; and the author is consequently obliged to leave the narrative as he finds it in the ordinary histories of the time, although he is obliged to acknowledge that he has no confidence in a great deal of that which is stated in the following pages. Indeed, he would have

gladly avoided writing so much that is doubtful; but it was necessary to conclude the work in some manner—and he had already been censured severely and unjustly for the delay which had occurred in the publication of the fourth volume of this history. He read in the pages of perhaps the very best periodical paper of the day a letter, addressed to the editor on this subject, at a time when the author, in the midst of deeper domestic affliction than he trusts the writer of that letter may ever know, was corresponding daily with several gentlemen in Germany, who were labouring kindly, though fruitlessly, to obtain for him the accurate information he desired. It could hardly be expected that he should notice such a letter, or answer questions put in the tone assumed; and it is only necessary here to state that, long before that letter was written, this work was completed up to the point, where he had to choose between delaying the conclusion while he searched for truth, or to follow statements which he believed to be more than doubtful. He chose to pursue his search as long as there was a probability of obtaining truth; but all his efforts having been ineffectual, he is now driven to adopt the latter course. He thinks it but fair, however, to the public to state, that a great part of that which follows has been written under a strong feeling of uncertainty, for he would fain not mislead where he cannot enlighten.

BOOK XIX.

WHAT was the exact course towards England which Richard Cœur-de-Lion proposed to pursue when he sailed from Acre is not known. He is supposed to have been driven up the Adriatic by storms; but the fact of his having a boy with him who spoke German—a rare accomplishment amongst the English and Normans—would afford a presumption, that from the first he proposed to pass through Germany.

In the Mediterranean he encountered a severe tempest, which compelled his galley to take refuge in a harbour on the shores of Corfu; and thence he sailed up the Adriatic, intending, it is believed, to land at Ragusa. All accounts agree, that he was driven by stress of weather to the head of the Gulf, where his vessel ran aground, somewhere between Venice and Trieste.

There is much reason to suppose either, as some have asserted, that an emissary of his enemies ac-

companied him in the very vessel that bore him, and gave immediate intimation to the people on shore that the King of England was in the galley, disguised as a Templar, or that a swifter sailing ship had been despatched with intelligence of his movements. Certain it is, that a general order had been given, before his arrival in Carniola, to stop all pilgrims coming from the Holy Land, and that the nobles of the country had been taught to expect that the King of England would attempt to pass that way.

On what account we know not, Richard immediately after landing abandoned the disguise which he had hitherto worn, and took the garb of a merchant of Damascus. His beard and hair had been suffered to grow very long, and he assumed the name of Hugo; but all precautions were vain against the keen eyes which were watching his movements. At Goritz, where the king next paused with his friends and personal attendants, the Templars having been left behind, inquiries were made by the lord of the territory—a relation of the deceased Marquis of Montferrat, named Meinhard—in regard to the quality and destination of the party of travellers. The reply was, that they were Baldwin de Bethune, a Norman knight, with his attendants, and one Hugo, a merchant of Damascus, travelling under his escort. At the same time, Richard sent a valuable ring by the messengers of Meinhard as a present to their lord. Apparently

this was an act of great imprudence; and it has been severely censured as such; but it must be recollected, that at this time not a few of the lords of the land derived a considerable portion of their revenues from the oppression of merchants travelling through their territories; and as personal violence often accompanied exaction, it was frequently a part of policy to avert maltreatment by presents. Thus Richard, in sending the ring, unless there was something peculiar in its form or material, was only enacting the character he had assumed. Either its value, however, or some distinctive mark, led Meinhard to recognise it as the property of the king of England; and he sent it back with a message, which at once showed that Richard was discovered through his disguise. The German baron assumed a tone of generous interest in the king's fate, which I cannot think altogether affected. He told the monarch that he recognised him by his act; that he had received orders to take no gift from any one, and to stop all pilgrims from the Holy Land; but that in his case he would not obey those orders, except by returning his ring.

Alarmed at finding his secret so easily penetrated, and perhaps having obtained information of which we know nothing, the English prince hurried forward without any further communication with Meinhard, leaving Goritz the same night. It is difficult to account for the course which Richard now pursued; for instead of turning towards the

Tyrol, and pursuing his journey to England by the western states of Germany, where fewer difficulties and dangers would have lain in his way, he directed his journey towards the north-east, which necessarily led him towards the dominions of a prince whom he had treated with scorn, and rendered his mortal enemy. We are compelled to suppose that impediments, of which we know nothing, prevented his taking his course towards the Brenner, instead of plunging into Carinthia. Advancing every day nearer and nearer to the capital of the Duke of Austria, we next hear of him at Freisach, which at that time belonged to a near relative of Meinhard, named Frederick of Breteson ; and a romantic incident is narrated of Richard's short stay in this place, which perhaps really occurred. Meinhard, we are told, had sent messengers to his relation, informing him that the King of England had just passed through Carniola, and would probably soon arrive at Freisach, advising him at the same time to arrest the monarch if he could lay hands upon him. The arrival of a body of distinguished travellers was immediately communicated to Breteson, who, having amongst his retainers an old soldier, a Norman by birth, directed him to go down to the inn, and ascertain if possible whether Richard was with the party which had lately entered the town. The old man found the monarch nearly alone at the inn, and either recognised him at once, as some say, or prevailed upon him to ac-

knowledge his royal station, as others assert. Large rewards had been promised to him if he succeeded in bringing about the arrest of the king; but old attachment to his native prince prevailed over the temptation; and, throwing himself at the king's feet, he told him his danger, and entreated him to secure himself by instant flight. He even furnished the monarch with a fresh horse, we are assured; and Richard taking his advice, set out at once, accompanied only by William de l'Estang and the page.

Baldwin de Bethune, and the rest of the king's followers, were left behind at Freisach. Some say that they were strolling in the town, and that Richard had not time to find them; but others assert, that all agreed it would be better for Richard to proceed with as small a company as possible, in order to avoid the eager eyes which were watching for his passage. All the intelligence which the English monarch had received, must have shown him that an eager and powerful enemy had set traps for him over the face of the whole country; and it is hardly possible to suppose that he did not recognise the animosity of the Duke of Austria in these attempts to seize him. Nevertheless, from Freisach he took his way direct to Vienna, where, worn out with fatigue, he sought lodging in a small house in one of the neighbouring villages, which served as a sort of suburb to the city. During his stay here, he resolved not to set his foot out of the house, but sent the boy, who accompanied

him and De l'Estang, to the public market to buy provisions. It is probable that intimation of his having passed through Goritz and Freisach had by this time been communicated to the Duke of Austria, and that means had been taken to inquire into the real position of every stranger who visited Vienna. Whether the boy sent to the market was very lavish of his money, as some have declared; or whether he was recognised by some of the attendants of the Duke of Austria, as others assert; or was detected by the use of Syrian coin, as we find stated by other authors, cannot be clearly ascertained. The last account of Richard's discovery is the least probable, as the use of Syrian coin could be looked upon as nothing extraordinary in a merchant of Damascus, which was the character assumed by the king of England. The poor page, however, was arrested on his second or third visit to the market. The king's gloves were found upon him, and were undoubtedly of a different form from the gloves of the ordinary trader. He was interrogated as to his master's rank and place of abode, and, steadily refusing to betray his trust, he was cruelly put to the torture. Agony wrung nothing from him, however; but a threat was then added to tear out his tongue by the roots if he remained silent; and the terrified boy, having already experienced what the barbarians dared to do, told all he knew, and indicated the dwelling of the king. The house was immediately surrounded by a number of men in

arms; and Richard, according to the generally received account, was taken in his sleep.*

The arrest of Richard took place on the 20th of December; and news was immediately conveyed to the Emperor Henry VI., who, as the superior lord of the whole territory, claimed the prisoner at the hands of the duke. Negotiations took place as to the share to be assigned to Austria, in the ransom, which the base captor and his greedy confederate calculated upon obtaining; and Henry at length agreed, that the duke should receive a sum amounting to sixty thousand pounds. Upon these conditions, the captive monarch was transferred to the custody of the emperor. He was confined for a considerable length of time, however, in the castle of Dürenstein, on the banks of the Danube, in the custody of Hadamar von Kuenring, an officer of the Duke of Austria,† before he was given up to

* Others state, that the armed multitude did not venture to enter the house where the king was lodged, so great was the terror of his name; and that Richard, finding he was discovered, and that escape was impossible, calmly directed the people to summon the Duke of Austria to receive his sword in person. It is added, that the duke came, and that to him Richard surrendered. This tale bears every appearance of a fiction, invented to embellish a meagre narrative.

† It has been mistakenly asserted that Richard was confined in Dürenstein by the emperor. Dürenstein belonged to Austria, and Herr Duller has the following passage, in speaking of Hadamar von Kuenring: "Ihm übergab Herzog Leopold VI. den gefangenen König Richard Löwen Herz zu ritter-

Henry. Dürenstein, the remains of which are still visible, is situated on the banks of the Danube, near the spot where the river, after passing through the narrow gorges above Mölk, opens out into the plain of Vienna, and is surrounded on every side by rugged rocks, which in some places form a sort of outer wall around it. The castle itself is in a wild and solitary situation at the top of the hill; while the picturesque little town lies at its foot, on the banks of the river. In those days it must have been a place of great strength; but its situation gives the impression, that secresy as well as security was an object in the selection of Richard's place of confinement.

We have no very accurate information how the captive monarch was treated in his rocky prison; but it is generally stated, that William de l'Estang and the poor boy who had suffered torture for his sake, were detained in the same fortress, and were permitted to pass the hours of daylight with their sovereign. We are told also, that Richard found healthful amusement in mingling with the rude sports of the soldiery who formed his guard, and was well pleased to see them try their powers in vain against his own gigantic strength. His active mind, unquelled by misfortune, had other

licher haft." He shows that Richard was several months in Dürenstein before he was given up to the emperor, and transferred to Trifels. It is probable that Leopold's share of the ransom was paid to him at once by Henry, as was customary when a superior lord bought a prisoner from a vassal.

resources within itself; and, though his spirit doubtless fretted at his unjust imprisonment, we find that the arts of the poet and the musician, in which he had taken so much delight in brighter days, served to cheer the gloom of his captivity. A *sirvente*, or rather a plainte, consisting of seven stanzas, is still extant, which was undoubtedly composed by the monarch while a prisoner in Dürenstein or Trifels. Several versions of this ballad are given, varying considerably in the language; but all of them bearing internal evidence of its having been the king's own composition, and displaying extraordinary poetical powers. Few of the lays of the Troubadoures, or Trouveres, have been more celebrated; and I do not know more than four or five which can be compared with it in true poetical spirit.*

* I give a very free translation of it from Ritson's Ancient Songs and Ballads, in which the vigour and point are certainly rather decreased than augmented:—

No wretched captive of his prison speaks,
Unless with pain and bitterness of soul;
Yet consolation from the muse he seeks,
Whose voice alone misfortune can control.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile?
Will none, his sovereign to redeem, expend
The smallest portion of his treasures vile?

Though none may blush that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endured,
Yet know, my English, Norman, Gascon peers,
Not one of you should thus remain immured;

The view generally taken of the character of Richard is simply under its military aspect. Those who have most favourably regarded him, have only spoken of him as a great and successful military commander, or a daring and adventurous knight. This, however, is doing him hardly justice; for the records of his life show a great many other qualities, raising him considerably above most of the princes of the age in which he lived. Any contrast between him and John would appear too extravagant; but compared with the Duke of Austria, or with the

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The meanest subject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, so selfish human race!
" Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,"
Since here I pine in bondage and disgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind.
Much for myself I feel, yet ah! still more
That no compassion from my subjects flows;
What can from infamy their names restore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes should close.

But small is my surprise, though great my grief,
To find, in spite of all his solemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cause has courage to espouse.
Though lofty towers obscure the cheerful day,
Yet, through the dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind Hope, in gentle whispers, seems to say,
" Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."

Emperor Henry, how highly does he rise in esteem, not only as a soldier, but a man; and even side by side with Philip Augustus, the most distinguished sovereign of his time, with the exception of Richard himself, we shall find the English sovereign not injured in our opinion by the contrast. As a general and a soldier, Richard was infinitely superior to his great rival. As a politician, he was inferior, although it must be remarked, that Richard could never have belonged to that class of politicians amongst which Philip must be ranked, without the sacrifice of all those qualities which win our esteem and love. He could not have been frank and straightforward, bold and generous, and yet have pursued that course of policy which, by deceit, dissimulation, violation of

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Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh, Chail and Pensavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlasting lays,
My foes against me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them, too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit or fraud, appear;
That infamy will brand to latest times
The insults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robust and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your sov'reign and your friend to save.
Remote from consolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you aught but pity to bestow!

all engagements, and taking every ungenerous advantage of friend and enemy, led to the accomplishment of so many of Philip's designs. Nevertheless, it is strange to remark, how very unsuccessful were the plans of the French king against the bold and manly course of his great rival. It may be said, that the military genius of Richard more than counterbalanced the political cunning of Philip; but I cannot help believing, with Sully, that a candid and truthful policy is often the most judicious and the most successful. Then, again, as a private individual, the mind of Richard, in many respects, rose far above that of the French king. His fondness for the arts, his poetical genius, his sparkling wit, which, though bitter and sarcastic, was never aimed at aught but prominent vices and follies—the learning and extent of information which, according to Hoveden, he occasionally displayed, and the eloquence which he employed at various times to influence the actions of others, and to defend himself, raised him far above the King of France in his mere personal character. The quality in which he seems to have been inferior to Philip, and which justifies the reputation of the latter as a great statesman, was a comprehensive and persevering conception of great objects. Here Philip was undoubtedly pre-eminent. Philip saw beyond the times in which he lived. Richard acted for them alone; and thus the crusade, which was the grand event of Richard's life, was but an episode in that of the King of France.

To say that he was a general more than a statesman, and that Philip was more a politician than a warrior, is only justice to both; but to attribute Richard's renown merely to "brutal and ferocious valour," as Gibbon has done, is to show either prejudice or ignorance. In giving an account of the battle of Assur, of the march of the crusaders from Acre, of the advance upon Jerusalem, and of the retreat from Bethanopolis, I have shown that, where the safety of the army was concerned, and where the objects of the whole crusade were at stake, Richard displayed much higher and very different qualities, as a leader, from brutal and ferocious valour: great military skill, a prudent calculation of difficulties and dangers, and the most resolute self-command in resisting the foolhardy enthusiasm of the troops, even when assailed by personal insult, and in restraining the impulses of his own daring spirit, and subjecting the eager energies of his own lion-like heart to the government of reason and sound policy. That he was liberal of his wealth, kind and generous in disposition, forgiving, though passionate, and generally patient of small offences, though scornful of all that is mean and low, the history of his life abundantly shows; and the calm and dignified equanimity with which he bore his long and iniquitous imprisonment, with his heart unshaken, and his courage never deserting him, enlivening his captivity with sports, and consoling his solitary hours with song, affords a picture of

magnanimous endurance, which may well add to the reputation of the victor of Assur and the hero of Jaffa.

We do not exactly know the day on which Richard was carried from the castle of Dürenstein to that of Trifels; but it is clear that every means was taken to conceal the fact of Richard's imprisonment, and to hide him from the eyes of all. Three persons were greatly interested in the detention of the King of England, though the different passions which actuated them led them to differ from each other in regard to many minor points, and especially as to the length of time during which the captive should be confined. John, his brother, was anxious that the unjust imprisonment should be perpetual, in order that he might be enabled to seize the dominions of his great brother during the infancy of his nephew Arthur. Philip Augustus, King of France, moved by the great strong passion of his life—that of territorial acquisition—fixed his eyes upon Normandy, and clearly comprehended, that his only chance of wresting from the crown of England the continental territories of the English monarchs, would be the death or continued imprisonment of the King of England. The character of John he understood well, and appreciated at its right value. No difficulties of any great importance would obstruct the execution of his design, if Richard were still held in captivity, and if John were successful in usurping the throne.

The two, therefore, were anxious that the imprisonment of the king should be protracted to the utmost; but the emperor was influenced by different feelings, which ultimately produced the liberation of the captive. The love of gold was his ruling passion; and, consequently, his only object in the detention of the English prince was to extract from him, or rather from his people, the largest ransom that circumstances enabled them to pay. The conduct of these three princes, in the transactions which ensued, I shall have to trace more minutely hereafter, when I have given a brief sketch of the events which had occurred in Richard's dominions during his long absence in the Holy Land.

BOOK XX.

It is now necessary to notice, as concisely as possible, the events which had occurred in England during the absence of the king. Richard, as I have previously shown,* had delegated his power to Hugh de Pusey, Bishop of Durham and Earl of Northumberland, and to William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, his chancellor. These two prelates exercised the supreme authority under the name of chief justiciaries, the former beyond the Humber, the latter over the whole of the rest of England. As might naturally be expected, a struggle very speedily commenced between two ambitious men; and the most daring and able remained master of the field. The combination of ambition and weakness is always dangerous to the individual in whose mind it exists; and Pusey was in no degree competent to contend with Longchamp. The Bishop of Ely without hesitation seized and imprisoned his

* Book xii.

brother justiciary, and forced from him, as the price of his liberation, not only his commission from the king, but also all the strong places he held in the north. He thus grasped in his own hands all power in the land, the civil as sole justiciary, the ecclesiastical as papal legate.

The character of Longchamp has been so differently represented by different contemporaries, that it is very difficult at this remote period to form a just appreciation thereof. The general impression is that he was haughty, overbearing, avaricious, grasping, and unprincipled; but yet Peter of Blois takes a very different view of his character, and speaks of his wisdom, generosity, gentleness, and benevolence. This testimony was probably in some degree prejudiced; but at the same time it was evidently for the interest of many persons in England to calumniate the justiciary, and to represent all his actions in the most unfavourable point of view.* While Richard was still in Normandy, a great number of the clergy and others went over to complain of the conduct of the chancellor; but Longchamp had the ear of his royal master, and was maintained in power notwithstanding all the intrigues carried on against him. Those in-

* Richard of Devizes. This author gives the following account of the chancellor:—"Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis Cancellarius, alter naturaliter Jacob, licet non luctasset cum angelo, persona spectabilis, brevitatem corporis animo recompensans, &c."

trigues, however, became more dangerous as Richard proceeded on his expedition; and Longchamp committed a great error in suffering Prince John to return to England. We are assured upon very good authority, that Richard, before he departed for the Holy Land, bound both John and his illegitimate brother Geoffrey by an oath to abstain from visiting England for three years; but it is clear that John was permitted to return, with the consent of the chancellor if not of the king;* and from that moment the prince began to strengthen himself against Longchamp, seeking partizans amongst all the discontented in the realm. It is probable that John, in the first instance, only aimed to secure for himself the succession to the throne, to the exclusion of Arthur his elder brother's child; for we find undoubted proof that Richard's intention of making Arthur his heir, should he himself die childless, was known to John at a very early period. In pursuit of this object, the first steps of John were directed to diminish the power of Longchamp, who, we have every reason to believe, was entrusted by Richard with the secret of his intentions towards Arthur, and commissioned to carry them into execution. Innumerable bickerings took place between the prince and the prelate almost from the moment of John's return to England; and while by every art the king's brother endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the nobles and the people,

* Richard of Devizes.—Giraldus.

Longchamp disgusted them by the assumption of more than regal pomp. He never appeared in public without a train of fifteen hundred mounted men, thus impoverishing the abbeys and monasteries where he lodged in his journeys, by the accommodation and provisions he required. He moreover bestowed all offices in the church and state upon his kindred and dependents, and treated the Lords of the Exchequer,* whom Richard had left in some degree to control his power, with contempt and almost insult.

The murmurs of the people were embodied in a formal letter of complaint by John and his advisers; and the document was sent over to Richard, then at Messina. According to some accounts, the Archbishop of Rouen, at the time when the memorial of the complainants reached the king's hands, had already made up his mind to abandon the Crusade and return to Normandy. According to others, he was sent back on a special mission by Richard, to quiet the dissensions between John and the chancellor, and to check the domineering spirit of the latter. He was furnished with letters patent from Richard, the real nature of which has been matter of dispute; and indeed, doubts have been entertained as to the authenticity of those which he did ultimately produce; but it is probable that such doubts were suggested by the timidity which induced him to conceal for some time the authority with which he was invested. On his arrival in England, the arch-

* Richard of Devizes calls them Barones Scaccarii.

bishop found the power of Longchamp so great, and exercised with such daring vigour, that he was terrified at the idea of encountering an adversary so dangerous and unscrupulous; and he did not announce the commission he had received from the king till after he had ascertained that he was likely to be supported in arms in case of the chancellor's resistance. It would seem, from the account of Richard of Devizes, which is one of the most favourable to Longchamp, that negotiations were carried on privately by John and the archbishop with all the principal nobles who remained in England, that in a very short time the support or the neutrality of a great part of the population was secured, and that nothing was wanting but a plausible motive for wresting the supreme authority from the hands of the Bishop of Ely. That motive was soon furnished by Longchamp; but his conduct on this occasion, as upon most others, is represented in the most different manner by the historians of the time, as their party prejudices biassed them. I am inclined to believe, however, that much reliance may be placed upon Richard of Devizes, even in opposition to the Abbot of Peterborough, who was undoubtedly a partizan of the Archbishop of Rouen, and received signal favours at his hands. It is generally stated that Longchamp, having received some offence from Gerard de Camville, who held the castle of Lincoln, and exercised authority in the country round, determined to deprive him of that stronghold,

and to place therein a favourite of his own; that Camville resisted the chancellor's commands, and that Longchamp immediately besieged him in Lincoln. Richard of Devizes, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and points out motives for the chancellor's conduct, which probably really existed. He calls Gerard de Camville a factious man, and gives us to understand that there was every probability of his doing homage to Prince John for the castle of Lincoln. Such were the causes of the Bishop of Ely's attack upon Lincoln, according to Richard's account; and the after conduct of John, and many of the Norman nobles, gives a great probability to this statement. This act of the chancellor, however, was a signal for the struggle to commence. John called to his aid the barons, with whom he had already negotiated, and laid siege to the castle of Nottingham, at the same time sending an imperious order to the chancellor, to withdraw his troops from Lincoln.

The observation of Longchamp on this occasion is remarkable. "Never believe me," he said to the leaders of his army, "if this man does not seek to subjugate the kingdom to himself." He did not find himself, however, sufficiently powerful to enter upon the struggle with John at once, and had recourse to means of negotiation. It would appear that he employed the Archbishop of Rouen to bring the prince to reason by gentler means than force of arms; and here again the conduct of the parties is

very differently represented by different writers. By some, the archbishop's proceedings are stated to have been moderate and judicious; and even Doctor Henry, usually so careful, speaks of him as a wise and virtuous prelate. Very different is the view taken of his conduct by his contemporary, Richard of Devizes. "The chancellor," he says, "sent the Archbishop of Rouen to the count (*i. e.* John) commanding him imperatively to yield the castles, and answer in the king's court for the oath he had broken towards his brother." He then goes on to say, that the archbishop, "skilful in working with both hands," praised the firmness of the chancellor, but instigated John in private against him, while in public he advised that the prince and the chancellor should meet and compromise their differences.

Whether the prelate thus sacrificed the best interests of his monarch and friend or not, would be difficult to determine at this remote period; but certain it is that the fatal advice here attributed to him was followed. Peace was concluded between John and the chancellor, after great difficulties and infinite precautions against each other. Both came well attended to the place of meeting at Winchester, where Richard of Devizes was living at the time. His account is very different from that of other historians, but still it is so circumstantial, and his means of obtaining information were so direct, that it is hardly possible to suppose his statement to be

inaccurate. It was agreed, he tells us, that Gerard de Camville should be left in peaceful possession of Lincoln, and, on the other part, that John should give up the Castles of Nottingham and Tickhill to be placed in the hands of faithful subjects of the king, upon their taking an oath to deliver them to Richard if he returned safe from the Holy Land, and to John if the monarch should die beyond seas. The chancellor also bound himself to assist John in mounting the throne, in case of Richard's death.

How adverse the whole of these concessions were to the views and purposes of Richard, I have already shown in another part of this work; but it is probable that Longchamp, finding that the king's brother was supported by the Archbishop of Rouen and the great body of the nobility, only yielded to necessity. The violent temper of Longchamp, however, soon gave to John an opportunity of still further diminishing his power. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the natural son of Henry II., now sought to return to England, having obtained the pope's confirmation in his see. Instead of applying to the chancellor for permission to return, his application was made to John, who, eager to strengthen his own party, immediately acceded. Longchamp, however, who was not ignorant of what had taken place, gave way to an indiscreet burst of fury against the son of Rosamond, and caused the coasts to be guarded, in order to seize him upon his arrival. It does not appear clearly that he gave any formal

notice to Geoffrey not to enter the kingdom, although some authors have asserted that such was the case, in order to excuse the violent conduct of Longchamp. However that may be, Geoffrey, fortified by the permission of John, which he certainly ought to have conceived of no avail, sailed for Great Britain, landed at Dover, and proceeded to pray in a church, apparently that attached to the priory of the monks of Canterbury, established in the port. The constable of Dover Castle was, it would seem, an officer appointed by the chancellor, and devoted to his service; and, misunderstanding, we are assured, the orders he had received, he hastened to the church and dragged Geoffrey from the altar on which he had just laid his hand. It would seem, from all accounts, he used a great deal of violence, and carried his prisoner to the castle across the town, dressed in his pontifical robes. The rumour of this action spread far and wide immediately; and the minds of a pious people were greatly shocked at the fact of a sanctuary having been violated, and violent hands laid upon an archbishop. The occasion was too favourable to the views of John for him not to take immediate advantage of it; and he now prepared to act against Longchamp vigorously. Whether Longchamp had really commanded the arrest of Geoffrey, or whether his orders had been exceeded, might prove a question difficult to solve; but there can be no doubt that he soon became aware of the rashness of the steps which had been

taken, and remedied them as soon as he could, by causing Geoffrey to be liberated. This concession, however, had no effect. John's troops were gathering round him fast; and the Prince showed himself determined to get rid of the presence of the Bishop by some means. Marching on to Reading, with a great number of friends and counsellors about him, John summoned the chancellor to meet him at Lodbridge, between Windsor and Reading, on the 5th of October. Longchamp, it would seem, hesitated; and at length, hearing that it was the intention of the prince to seize his person, he hastened to London, and threw himself into the Tower. He was followed immediately by John, who, entering the city by night, was received by the citizens with lanterns and torches, shouts, and gratulations. Nothing was wanting, says the historian, but his salutation as king. The mind of John, however, was not formed for bold and decided steps. He was brought to them occasionally by degrees; but he always hesitated before he engaged in any really great attempt. At that moment, perhaps, during his brother's absence, and with his own popularity at its height, he might have snatched the crown he coveted; but he wisely forbore, and contented himself with calling a great assembly of the nobles and prelates on the following day, to meet in the church of St. Paul, at which, we are assured, a number of the citizens of London were present. Here, for the first time, the Archbishop of Rouen pub-

licly produced the letters of Richard, authorising him to act as joint-regent with Longchamp, and appointing four nobles as their counsellors. The authenticity of these letters has been greatly doubted; but no doubt seems to be entertained by any one, that an assertion by which the production of the patent was accompanied, namely, that it conferred authority to depose the chancellor, was false. The assembly, however, gave credit to whatever was stated; and many persons came forward to accuse Longchamp of all sorts of oppression. Amongst these, one of the most violent seems to have been Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, once a servile flatterer of the chancellor. The consultation ended in a resolution to depose Longchamp, and to force him to surrender into the hands of Prince John all the castles and strong places which he held, with the exception of three.* Many other changes were proposed; and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry were sent to announce the resolution of the council to Longchamp, and to demand the

* There are considerable doubts as to which were the three castles retained, and indeed few of the contemporary writers are agreed on any of the minor points of these transactions. I have depended principally upon Richard of Devizes, who seems as fair as any in his appreciation of the character and motives of the persons whom he mentions. If he has some leaning towards Longchamp, which is indeed evident, his statements are easily corrected by those of Giraldus Cambrensis, Diceto, Benedict, and the famous letter of the Bishop of Coventry.

great seal. The chancellor burst forth into a vehement invective, ending with the words, "The castles I will not surrender; the seal I will not resign."

The Tower had been already surrounded by the forces of John; and he now ordered the blockade to be made more stringent, which prevented the introduction of all supplies. A night's painful thought, and a report of the state of the place, forced upon the mind of the chancellor the conviction that he could not hold out; and he agreed to meet John without the walls of London.* This meeting took place on the following day; and, after a great many charges had been brought against him by the Bishop of Coventry and others, Longchamp gave up the keys of the Tower of London, with three hostages for the surrender of the other castles, on October 10, A.D. 1191. We are distinctly assured, that the Bishop of Coventry promised, in the name of John and the assembled council, that the deposed justiciary should be permitted to retain his bishopric and three castles, of which Dover was one; but with a reverse of fortune, friends had abandoned the unhappy chancellor, and persecution followed his steps as he fled from his enemies. Contrary to the general opinion, I am inclined to believe that the counsellors of John, instead of wishing to drive Longchamp out of England, sought to keep him within the limits of the kingdom, fearing his in-

* "In planitiem quæ est extra Londonias adorientem."

fluence in Normandy. Certain it is, that every means was taken to intercept his flight. He was first stopped at Canterbury, habited as a monk; and then, contriving to escape, he made his way to the sea-side, near Dover, disguised as a woman. Being short of stature, his general appearance did not betray him; and farther to conceal his sex and station, he obtained a parcel of linen and an ell-measure, endeavouring to pass himself for one of those female pedlers who at that time were frequent visitors of villages and small towns. A boat had been hired to receive him at Dover, and carry him to the coast of Flanders; but it was not ready at the moment of his arrival on the shore, and he seated himself on a rock to wait for its coming. There, his appearance attracted the attention of a sailor, who, taking him for a woman of a light class, treated him with some rude familiarity, till he discovered his mistake; but then, seeing that he was evidently some fugitive endeavouring to escape, he generously forbore to betray him, and passed on his way. The sailor was almost immediately succeeded by some women, who, seeing the linen under his arm, began to bargain with him for some of it. Longchamp, however, fearing to speak, remained silent; and as the ladies of a seaport town are not always the most placable, his hood was pulled off in a moment, his black beard exposed, and a multitude of people collected at the outcry raised by those who had made the discovery. By some his person

was recognised, and in the midst of shouts, execrations, and insults, he was dragged away to Dover Castle, and placed in confinement.* Here he was suffered to linger for eight days, while John would seem to have hesitated as to how he should act; but in the end, probably influenced by a fear of the papal authority, the prince ordered the prisoner to be liberated, and suffered him to retire first into Flanders and then into Normandy.

The Archbishop of Rouen took upon himself the office of chief justiciary. Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, received the great seal; but John, in reality, usurped the greater part of the power of which Longchamp had been deprived. If the purpose of this prince was solely to secure to himself the succession to the throne of England, in case of his brother's death childless, he made great progress towards that object in the very council which deposed Longchamp. That assembly took upon itself to perform an act which had hitherto been reserved exclusively to the reigning sovereign, and granted a charter to the citizens of London, with a reservation, indeed, in favour of the royal authority, but which could not be annulled without risk of a rebellion. That this concession was prompted by John, there can be no doubt; and the reward was immediate, for the council did not break up without the citizens of London renewing their oath of

* This proves that Dover Castle must have been taken from him.

fidelity to Richard and his heir, and binding themselves to receive John as the king's successor in case of his death without children, to the exclusion of Arthur, the heir presumptive. The nobles and prelates not only acquiesced in these arrangements, but, we are assured, did homage to John as Richard's successor; and the possession of many strong places afforded the means of rendering this homage no vain ceremony. Thus far the Archbishop of Rouen had served the purposes of the prince; but it is probable, as has been strongly suspected, that he sought to serve his own interests also, and that the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury was the object of his ambition. The destruction of Longchamp had been necessary to remove an obstacle from his way; for on the death of Archbishop Baldwin, at Acre, the chancellor had warmly espoused the cause of William, Archbishop of Montreal, one of the candidates for the see of Canterbury. The enmity, therefore, between Walter of Rouen and the Bishop of Ely was of a personal nature, which may account for the violent measures of the former, who, not content with the overthrow of his adversary, pursued him after his fall with unparalleled acrimony, seized his revenues, confiscated his goods, and excommunicated the object of his hatred in his own province of Normandy.

Longchamp was not behind the archbishop in angry and vindictive feeling; and his own diocese having shown a strong adherence to the party of

his enemies, he sought vengeance in the only way it could be obtained. His legantine power had terminated with the life of Clement III.; but no sooner had he quitted the shores of England than he applied by letter, both to the king and the pope, for justice against those who had stripped him of authority. He gave of course his own view of the transactions which had lately taken place in England, and succeeded in convincing Celestine III., who had succeeded Clement, and was a pontiff of no mean ability, that he had suffered great wrong in his contest with John and the Archbishop of Rouen. Celestine warmly espoused his cause, and not only restored to him the legantine authority, but commanded the English bishops to excommunicate John and his confederates. Armed with his authority, Longchamp returned to England in April 1192, and at the same time pronounced an interdict against his diocese of Ely, which was as strictly carried out as the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Archbishop of Rouen had been executed in Normandy. In the latter, wherever he came the services of the church were suspended; in the former, all rites were at an end: baptisms, marriages, funerals, were not solemnized by the church; and the bodies of the dead were cast unburied into the fields. The visit of the chancellor to the kingdom, which he had once ruled, was not suffered to be of long duration; for John, or his council, acted with

determination and vigour, condemning him to a fine of five hundred pounds of silver for having ventured to set his foot upon the English shores again. At the same time a multitude of influential persons wrote to Longchamp, beseeching him to quit the country if he would not be the cause of a civil war; and Eleanor, the Queen Dowager, interested herself successfully, so far to bring about an accommodation between him and the Archbishop of Rouen, that the latter revoked his excommunication and the former his interdict. Although the bishops of England could not refuse to perform the commands of the pope, yet it would appear that they neglected to do so; for I do not find any distinct proof that they ever pronounced sentence of excommunication against John and his adherents.

The efforts of the prince were now it would seem directed to a higher object, and his position altogether changed. The succession to the throne of England and the duchy of Normandy, after the death of Richard, was no longer sufficient for his ambition. He coveted immediate possession of a part or the whole, and directed all his efforts to effect his object. The natural expansion of desire, as a consequence of fruition, in the heart of an ambitious or avaricious man, would be sufficient to account for the alteration in the views of John; but he was stimulated by the intrigues and buoyed up by the promises of one equally ambitious with himself, but far more crafty, daring, and prudent.

Philip Augustus, King of France, had set sail from Palestine on the first of August, 1191; and, after conferring with the pope, and perhaps with the emperor also, he pursued his way to Paris, where he arrived in safety towards the end of the year. We are informed upon highly respectable authority that in his conference with the supreme pontiff, Philip had brought a number of charges against the King of England, and had requested to be absolved from an oath which he had taken before quitting Palestine, to leave unmolested and even to protect all the dominions of the English king. The pope peremptorily refused to comply with his request, and probably disbelieved the accusations he brought against Richard. But Philip was not dismayed by this repulse; and, on his arrival in Paris, he received intelligence of the state of England, which encouraged him to proceed in his proposed course with all speed lest he should lose a golden opportunity. Arms and men were collected from every quarter of the kingdom; his cities and castles were fortified and provisioned; and by various seductive offers, he endeavoured to lure John into an attempt to usurp at least the continental portion of Richard's dominions. The hopes he held out naturally elevated the weak and profligate prince to whom he addressed himself; and John showed the spirit of encroachment, even in England, so strongly as to awaken the suspicions of his mother Eleanor. The Archbishop of Rouen had now no private purposes to serve, and

was probably, at this time, sincerely attached to Richard. He could not be blind to the designs of John, and probably regretted deeply that he had aided to raise him to a pitch of power from which it would be difficult to make him descend. This prelate, therefore, very early in the year 1192, was placed in direct opposition to him whom he had already served but too well; and he narrowly watched all the movements of John, in order to prevent him from wasting the royal treasures, to which he was inclined to help himself with a liberal hand, and to withhold from him the possession of those strong places, which he coveted as a means of overawing his opponents.

There can be no doubt that Philip Augustus offered to the weak brother of Richard, from whom he might hope to wrest them easily at an after period, the investiture of all the English king's dominions on the continent, upon certain concessions, which John was very willing to make; and the latter was even upon the point of sailing for Normandy in order to carry out his nefarious plans with Philip, when Eleanor and the Archbishop of Rouen, discovering his intentions, by prayers, entreaties, and threats, induced him to delay his voyage. The knavish prince, however, at the very time when his mother was using every endeavour to dissuade him from basely plundering his brother during his absence, contrived to get possession of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, it is supposed by bribing the persons who held them for

the crown.* The news of these transactions, or at least rumours thereof, undoubtedly reached Richard in the Holy Land, and although he might view with some suspicion the partial accounts brought to him from Longchamp by the prior of Hereford, yet he must have been prepared, by more authentic information, to find John struggling to obtain possession of his dominions, and France and Germany eager to intercept him on his return to his own kingdom.

John hesitated and feared; but Philip pursued eagerly his plans, and boldly demanded of the Seneschal of Normandy the surrender of Gisors and the Norman Vexin, and the restoration of his sister according to the terms of the treaty of Messina. He even produced the treaty; but the Seneschal, William Fitz-Ralph, who met him for the purpose of conference between Gisors and Trie, boldly refused to accede to any of his demands, alleging that, having received his authority personally from Richard, nothing but the king's own commands could justify him in giving up any part of that which was entrusted to his charge. Philip threatened loudly to invade Normandy, glad of the pretext which was afforded him. But the

* The statement of Richard of Devizes, whose chronicle ends before Richard's return, is perfectly clear and definite upon this point, though many authors place the fall of these castles into the hands of John after his brother had been captured—indeed, towards the close of 1193.

nobles of France and the sovereign pontiff judged that the refusal of the Seneschal did not in any degree affect the oath which Philip and his peers had taken, not to make war upon Richard's territories during his absence in the Holy Land; and, while the pope menaced the King of France with the thunders of the church if he persevered, the barons refused to march on an expedition which was clearly a violation of the most solemn engagements.

Disappointed and enraged, Philip was forced to abandon the immediate prosecution of his design; but still he continued his intrigues with John; and still he persevered in preparation, in order to be prepared for the time when Richard's departure from Palestine might absolve him and his nobles from the strict letter of their oath. In the meantime, Richard's officers in his continental dominions, took every means to strengthen themselves against the threatened invasion, while Eleanor and the Archbishop of Rouen watched narrowly all the movements of John, in order to guard against the treacherous intrigues which he was known to be carrying on against his brother.

While all was in this state of suspense, news arrived which alarmed the friends and rejoiced the enemies of Richard. Numerous bands of crusaders reached England and Normandy who had witnessed the embarkation of the king, or had seen the preparations made for his departure. Some also reported

that they had beheld the galley in which he sailed from Acre vacant in the port of Brundusium. It could not be doubted that the heroic King of England had quitted Palestine, and landed somewhere on the coasts of Europe; but still Richard did not appear; and sinister rumours spread of the monarch's fate. Some reported that he was dead, others, that he had been made prisoner; and gradually the latter suspicion assumed form and consistency. Philip Augustus received direct information of Richard's captivity; and his proceedings left no further doubt of the fate of the King of England.

His troops had been kept in a constant state of preparation, and all the nobles of France on whom he could most rely, had been warned to be ready at a moment's notice, to aid their king in a war from which conscientious scruples had alone deterred them. It took some time, however, for Philip to bring all his forces into the field; and we find from Rigordus, that it was not till the 12th of April, 1193, that the King of France commenced his march, although he must have been aware of the captivity of the English monarch some months before. With forces vastly superior to any which Richard's officers in Normandy could oppose to him, Philip obtained very rapid success. The strong town of Gisors was speedily taken, castle after castle fell before his arms, and the whole of the Norman Vexin was overrun. It is probable

that his victorious career was only stayed by the usual distaste of feudal armies for long campaigns; but it is certain, that after carrying on the war for a few weeks with complete success, he returned to Paris, and made over to the Abbey of St. Denis the town of Neufchatel en Bray, which he had just wrested from the power of England.*

* The English historians in general confound this expedition of Philip with a subsequent invasion of Normandy, in February, 1194, which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter; but the French contemporary writers are all agreed as to the facts and dates.

BOOK XXI.

The conduct of John, and the gradual development of his plans for obtaining possession of the throne of his brother, had alarmed in the highest degree many of those who, though they had assisted him in the expulsion of Longchamp, were sincerely attached to Richard. It is clear that he had, in the first instance, deceived not only the Archbishop of Rouen, who was not thoroughly acquainted with his character, but also his own mother, Eleanor, who ought to have known him better. The eagerness with which he grasped at power, however, speedily opened their eyes, and measures had been already taken to frustrate his schemes, when the rumour of Richard's captivity began to spread through Europe. One of the first steps of Eleanor to obstruct the ambitious course of her younger son, was to induce the prelates and nobles of England, with the Archbishop of York at their head,* to renew their oath of fidelity to Richard; and per-

* The see of Canterbury was vacant.

ceiving by this and various other indications, that he could hope for no support from his mother or the Archbishop of Rouen, John determined to have recourse to Longchamp, and see if he could not pacify and engage his former opponent. Longchamp, it would appear, was ready to use the weak and treacherous prince as a tool for the purpose of obtaining his recal from exile; but the obstacles to his return were so great, that after some fruitless attempts, he abandoned the design, and resolved to wait for the arrival of his royal master.

No sooner had the intelligence of Richard's captivity assumed a credible form, than the Archbishop of Rouen summoned the friends of the absent monarch to meet him at Oxford; and eager consultations ensued as to the course to be adopted. That Richard was a prisoner seemed now evident to every one, and it was generally understood that the place of his incarceration was Germany; but in what particular spot of that wide territory the monarch was confined, nobody had the least idea. In these circumstances, the first object was to ascertain the residence and condition of the king; and the Abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert were despatched on a sort of pilgrimage to seek their sovereign in the dominions of the Emperor.

Most urgent letters were also written to the pope, representing the scandal to Christendom occasioned by the unjust detention of the English king; and Celestine was ultimately, though not without diffi-

culty, moved by the appeal to more vigorous interposition than the court of Rome usually employed in cases where the authority and interests of the holy see were not implicated. He denounced in the strongest terms of reprobation the act which had been committed, threatened all those who had been concerned therein with the censures of the church, and even menaced the whole empire with interdict.

The indignation of the people of England was excited to the highest possible degree; and at first a cry for vengeance was universal in the land; but the invasion of Germany was soon seen to be impracticable, and all hope of releasing the king centred in negotiation. The feelings of a chivalrous nobility, however, were strongly moved in favour of their injured sovereign, and the event in which John had founded his expectations of obtaining the supreme power, proved the greatest stumbling-block in his course. He still held many strong places, it is true; he still had partizans and accomplices; but the general sense of the people was against him, and all the great authorities in the state were prepared to resist his efforts and frustrate his intrigues.

Although it would seem there were incessant communications between John and the King of France, yet the base prince was so well aware that many, even of his own supporters amongst the English subjects of his brother, were opposed to the intervention of Philip, that he dared not for a long time

openly ally himself with that monarch. He lingered on in England, apparently vacillating in his purposes, endeavouring to gain partizans and advantages, and to persuade the people that Richard had died in prison.

In the meantime, events were taking place on the continent which forced him in the end to take more decided steps, and display himself in his true colours. The place of Richard's imprisonment was discovered: some say by a letter, from the Emperor to the King of France, falling accidentally into the hands of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely: some say by the devoted exertions of the troubadour, Blondel de Nesle, the monarch's friend and fellow poet. The latter account is traditional, and has been very generally rejected, from the romantic nature of the tale; nor can I trace it to any certain source; but yet it is clear that this statement, in regard to the discovery of Richard's prison, was very generally believed at an early period in our history, and I cannot pass it over altogether without mention, although I warn the reader that the whole account may very likely be a fiction. No sooner, we are told, did Blondel de Nesle hear of the imprisonment of his royal master, than he set out to seek him, passing, as was very usual with troubadours, from castle to castle, throughout the land in which Richard was said to be confined. At length he arrived at a spot where, it was rumoured amongst the peasantry, a king was imprisoned; and climbing up the rock, he seated himself beneath one of the windows of the

castle, and began to sing a lay which he and Richard are said to have composed and often sung together. The song was immediately taken up by a voice within the castle, which Blondel instantly recognised as that of the king; and thus was the place of Richard's incarceration made known.

The scene, where this event is said to have taken place, is wild and magnificent, and harmonizes well with the romantic legend. Seated on a bold and abrupt hill, surrounded by an ocean of woody mountains, with no place larger than a mere hamlet, except the village of Anweiler, within several miles, the Castle of Trifels was a place well chosen for the secret imprisonment of a captive king; and whether the above tale be true or false, it would appear certain that the abbots sent to seek their sovereign in Germany must have received some accurate information in regard to Richard's abode, before they actually met with him; for at this time they were advancing up the left bank of the Rhine, which would hardly have been the case unless they had been guided by rumour or intelligence. Correct information must also have reached the Bishop of Salisbury and the Chancellor Longchamp; for both had visited the king before he was removed from Trifels to Haguenau, and Longchamp had apparently negotiated with the emperor regarding a personal interview between him and the royal captive.*

* See Richard's letter, which few historians seem perfectly to have comprehended.

The period of Richard's removal from Durenstein to Trifels is not, I believe, exactly ascertained: at least, after very diligent search, I have not been able to discover any documents regarding it. One author, Weiss, declares that Richard was detained at Durenstein more than a year; but this I think can hardly be accurate, for we know that negotiations for his liberation had commenced long before that period, and it does not appear that such was the case before he was actually in Trifels. When there, however, the general outcry which his imprisonment created throughout all Christendom, seems to have alarmed the emperor, and to have induced him to seek excuses, either for detaining him, or putting him to ransom. Henry VI. accordingly called a diet, to meet at Haguenau, a fortified town on the Motter, and summoned Richard to appear before it, to answer the charges which should be brought against him. The whole proceeding was as unjust and illegal as his imprisonment. Richard was not a vassal of the empire, and in no way answerable to the diet. He was an independent sovereign, a pilgrim, and an ally of the emperor, against whom, if he had committed any offence, the only just means of obtaining redress were war or negotiation. But all rights were ill defined in those days, except the right of superior strength; and Richard submitted with a good grace to an indignity which he could not avoid. He set out from Trifels then under a strong guard; but on his way to

Haguenau, he was suddenly encountered by the two abbots and their train. An instant recognition took place, and Richard received his faithful subjects with a joyful and well satisfied air. The abbots, however, were moved to tears at the situation of their king, and Richard himself was greatly affected by sympathy, of which he had been long deprived. One of his first questions regarded the health and prosperity of William, King of Scotland, for whom he seemed to entertain the highest esteem; and having satisfied himself of the welfare of that prince, and his steady attachment, notwithstanding the solicitations of John, he listened, not without indignation, to the account of his brother's intrigues. But contempt swallowed up anger; and he ended the conversation by saying, with a smile, "My brother is not a man to win a crown, if resisted even by the weakest arm."

Passing on to Haguenau, Richard, if we are to believe the account in his own letter, was received with every mark of outward respect by the emperor and his court. But Henry, on the first day after his prisoner's arrival, endeavoured to extract from him promises and concessions to which Richard refused to consent; and on the following day a long list of charges was preferred against him before the Diet, which he was called upon to answer. Richard submitted to make his defence before this incompetent tribunal, although we have reason to believe that he protested against its authority, and

insinuated that he merely rebutted the charges brought against him from a due regard for his own fair fame. His defence, however, when it was made, was so clear, so eloquent, and so convincing, that the whole assembly by acclamation pronounced him innocent; many of the Princes were moved to tears, and the ungenerous emperor himself rose from his throne, and embraced his royal captive.

The charges briefly were—1. That he had allied himself with Tancred, who had usurped the crown of Sicily, which fell of right to the emperor after the death of William the Good; 2. That he had unjustly invaded Cyprus, and dethroned the emperor of that island, a Christian prince, while he himself was sworn to bear arms against the infidels. 3. That in Palestine he had committed various breaches of the treaty between himself and the King of France, and by his dissensions with that prince had frustrated the objects of the Crusade. 4. That he had thrown down the banner of Austria and insulted the Duke of that country at Acre; 5. That he was an accessary to the murder of Conrad of Montferrat; 6. And that he had concluded a truce with Saladin, and entered into intimate relations with the infidel.

These charges were in some degree cunningly devised, both to cast odium on the character of Richard and to afford a pretext, however feeble, for bringing his conduct under the notice of the Diet. For the latter purpose, the claims of the emperor upon the crown of Sicily were put forward; and to

justify in some degree the Duke of Austria, there was added to the charge of insult at Acre, the accusation of having carried off the daughter of the Emperor of Cyprus, who was niece to the Duchess of Austria. But all serious accusations were satisfactorily and completely refuted, and it is only to be lamented that any friend or counsellor of the English king should have thought fit to bring forward a letter from the Prince of the Hachachins, which, I presume, nobody doubts to have been forged, exculpating Richard of all share in the death of Conrad. Richard required no such justification, and the imposture was a very bungling one.

This scene probably took place in April, 1193,* and Richard was afterwards treated with marked respect and consideration, but he was still detained a prisoner, and the emperor took base advantage of his eagerness to obtain liberation, for the purpose of extracting from him a large ransom.

* Some confusion exists with regard to these dates. Several authors declare that the charges were brought against Richard at Worms, but it is clearly proved that his first interview with the emperor took place at Haguenau, and it seems beyond all doubt that his formal accusation was made in presence of the Diet on the succeeding day. It is not improbable that, another Diet having been held shortly afterwards at Worms, further discussions took place, and that the ransom was there augmented, for it is clear that the first demand was only for seventy thousand marks, and that an additional sum, out of which a part was to be paid to the Duke of Austria, was an afterthought, probably suggested by the facility with which Richard submitted

The transactions which succeeded are exceedingly obscure. Richard is said to have surrendered the crown of England to the emperor, and to have received it again as a feof, doing homage for it, and agreeing to pay a tribute of five thousand pounds per annum. But in this statement I put no faith, although I believe that such an act may have been proposed to him, and may have been the very concession which called from him the indignant exclamation, "They shall rather take my life!" It is certain, however, that in return for that which Richard did concede, the emperor conferred upon him the visionary kingdom of Provence and Arles, and that Richard did homage for that territory, an act which may have been confounded by the writers of the day with the subjection of the English crown to the empire.*

It was not without great difficulty that the nego-

to the first extortion. There can be no doubt that the emperor kept Richard in a state of constant uneasiness, by hinting at the various Diets which were held previous to his liberation, that further concessions might be demanded. I have given the dates, however, according to the best of my judgment, after having examined carefully the various authorities. It is not impossible, even, that the Diet of Haguenau might be at once adjourned to Worms after Richard's defence; but his own letter, in which he speaks of his reception by the Emperor, bears date "13 Cal Maii." I have, however, some doubt of the accuracy of the transcriber.

* There are other examples of such errors even in the great collection of public acts: at least in the older editions.

tiations for Richard's liberation were brought to a conclusion. The King of France interposed, and eagerly urged the emperor to detain his illustrious prisoner at least for some time longer, and fresh demands were made every day. At first, it would appear, the ransom demanded was seventy thousand marks of silver of the standard of Cologne, but it was afterwards augmented; and in consideration of the sum paid to the Duke of Austria, fifty thousand marks of the same standard were required in addition. For the payment of a part, however, it was agreed that hostages should be taken.* A treaty was concluded, in which these terms were embodied, together with the stipulations that the Emperor of Cyprus should be immediately set at liberty, that his daughter should be given up to the care of the Duchess of Austria, and that the son of the duke should receive in marriage Richard's niece, called the maid of Britanny. To cover the baseness of exacting a ransom from one whom he had no right to detain as a prisoner, the emperor affected to show great favour towards the King of England, and to give the treaty the air of an alliance rather than a robbery. He undertook to effect a reconciliation between the English monarch and the King of France, and promised the former assistance and defence in

* Some have augmented the additional sum to sixty thousand, and others reduced it to forty.

case of danger. The only real advantage purchased by Richard at so enormous a cost was the prospect of liberation as soon as the first portion of his ransom was paid, and the promise of a safe conduct to any port at which he chose to embark. The money, however, had first to be raised in England, and then it had to be brought to Germany at the charge and peril of the king, who was not to receive his liberty till one instalment was actually paid into the treasury of the emperor. On the other hand, Richard had one security against the bad faith of those who had already dealt so treacherously with him. The German princes present at the diet became guarantees for the execution of the treaty; and, as it proved, this precaution was not taken in vain; for the news of the negotiation created the greatest consternation in the minds of John and Philip, and they made strenuous exertions to induce the emperor to break his plighted word, and to prolong, if not perpetuate, the imprisonment of his royal captive. We have no minute account of the treatment which Richard received after the conclusion of the treaty. We know not even his place of residence, or whether he was again incarcerated in Trifels, before he was removed to Worms and Spires; but it is clear that his imprisonment was not very strict. The two friends who first reached him were, as I have shown, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and the warlike Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury. Both hurried eagerly to their captive master as soon

as they were informed of his abode; and both had visited him before the interview at Haguenau.* The Bishop of Salisbury, indeed, is said to have been present when Richard made his famous defence;† and it is clear that Longchamp was with him immediately after Hubert, and was the bearer to England of the emperor's golden bull, confirming the treaty, and exhorting the English nobility to make strenuous exertions for the deliverance of their sovereign. This bull is probably one of the most impudent documents that ever issued from an imperial chancery; and in it the emperor speaks of the king, whom he was plundering, as his dear ally, and declares, as he well might, that he should consider everything done to effect his friend's liberation as if performed for himself.

Nevertheless, this tone was in some degree justified by the light in which Richard affected to regard the emperor. Either for the purpose of inducing his subjects to make great exertions, or from a knowledge that his words would be examined by

* I do not rely much upon the accounts given by Matthew Paris, Bromton, and others, who seem to have been very nearly ignorant of the geographical position of places in Germany, and to have supplied many particulars regarding Richard's imprisonment from the tales of travellers not much to be relied upon.

† Hubert had certainly left Richard before the king was brought to Haguenau, for Richard tells us so himself. Whether he ever rejoined him, I do not know; but very respectable historians assert that he was present at his monarch's defence, in face of Richard's own letter.

the imperial eyes, before they were transmitted to England, Richard declares, in his letter to Queen Eleanor, in announcing the conclusion of the treaty, that if he were at liberty and in his own kingdom, he would willingly give a larger sum than that stipulated as his ransom, in order to obtain the benefits of his alliance with the emperor. The messenger who bore this letter was preceded or followed by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, and by Longchamp, bearing the golden bull. The former came as one conscious of high deserts: he soon took a prominent part in the councils of the English nation, and was speedily translated to the see of Canterbury. Longchamp approached a country which had expelled him, in a more timid and humble manner, although he was still styled by Richard his chancellor, and was spoken of by the monarch in the very highest terms of friendship. Proceeding with a very small train to St. Albans, he was there met by the queen mother and her ministers; and, to guard against any misunderstanding, he at once declared that he did not come either as a legate, a justiciary, or a chancellor, but as a simple bishop and as a messenger from his sovereign and theirs. No notice was taken of either the insolence or the hypocrisy of the emperor; but every one of the council applied himself at once to aid strenuously in raising the sum required for the king's ransom. A portion was assigned to the continental dominions of the crown; and the rest was levied in England much more rapidly than

might have been anticipated, considering the impoverished state of the country, which had been drained of its wealth some four years before, to supply the king with means for his expedition to Palestine.

It has been remarked, that the tax imposed for the purpose of raising the king's ransom was illegal, because no parliament was summoned to give it the sanction of the people. But this is a mistake, for to contribute to the sovereign's ransom from captivity was a purely feudal duty attached to every feof in the land. The repartition of the burden, and the mode of its collection, might indeed have required the interference of a parliament, had anything like regularity then existed in our institutions; but every vassal was bound to the payment, by the tenure on which he held his lands.

It would seem, however, that the council of Queen Eleanor, acting with hasty eagerness, considered principally how the money could be soonest raised, rather than the just apportionment of the tax, and the method of guarding the people against fraud and oppression. A contribution, or *aid*,* of twenty shillings was demanded for every knight's fee. Various sums were required from boroughs, and from every person holding any part of the royal demesnes. The clergy were not exempt. The

* Doctor Henry, usually so accurate, calls this a scutage, but a scutage was a different sort of due, and was, in its origin, neither more nor less than a composition for military service.

Cistercian monks and the order of Sempringham, who had always hitherto been very tenderly touched, were now called upon to contribute the wool of their flocks, and the churches and abbeys were required to lend their gold and silver plate. Fairly levied, these taxes must have produced a much larger sum than that which was absolutely needed; but the collectors are accused of severity, partiality, and malversation, and the money was not ready before the autumn of the year.

It would appear that the amount collected consisted only in part of coin, and that the principal portion was conveyed to Germany* in the form of bars and ingots. As soon as the sum was obtained, upon the payment of which the liberation of the king depended, the queen mother, with the Archbishop of Rouen and a number of noblemen and clergymen, who agreed to give themselves as hostages for the payment of the final portion of the ransom, set out for Germany, taking the money with them, and leaving Hubert, now Archbishop of Canterbury, to govern the realm. But I must now turn to notice the proceedings of Philip and his base accomplice, John, which had well nigh

* To show what obscurity and confusion reigns in this part of history, I need only state that almost every author differs from another as to how and where the ransom was paid. Some say that imperial commissioners were sent to London to receive it; some say that it was paid at Mayence; some, at Spires. It is clear that the absolute payment was made at Mayence.

deprived the royal prisoner of all benefit from the exertions of his affectionate people.*

* The plate demanded from the churches, it must be remarked, was only taken as a loan, Eleanor pledging her word that it should be restored, which promise was afterwards faithfully kept.—(Hoveden, 73.)

BOOK XXII.

THE successful irruption of Philip into Normandy, which I have already noticed, and by which he regained Gisors, and a number of other towns and castles, was stayed in progress by events of which we have no accurate record. Even his historiographer, Rigordus, does not mention the occasion of his sudden retreat from a territory in which his arms had been perfectly successful. It is said by some, that the menaces of the pope alarmed either himself or his barons; and others, confounding this expedition with a second, which took place shortly after, declare that he retreated in consequence of a check before Rouen. The latter statement is clearly erroneous; and it is more probable that the disinclination of feudal armies to long campaigns, brought this expedition to a close at the end of six weeks, than that Philip, who had no great reverence for Celestine, should, at his command, cease his incursions into the territories of his neighbour.

It is clear that neither Philip's ambition, nor his enmity towards Richard, was in the least degree decreased; and to the influence of these passions has been ascribed his inauspicious marriage, which took place this year, with Ingeburga, daughter of the King of Denmark, through whom, it has been supposed, he hoped to revive a claim upon the crown of England. I cannot imagine, however, that a prince of Philip's extraordinary acuteness could be influenced by so visionary an expectation. Whatever was his motive in seeking the hand of Ingeburga, it is certain that, from some unknown cause, he was seized, on the very day after his marriage, with a degree of abhorrence for his young wife, which neither reason nor argument could overcome. He separated from her and divorced her immediately, and a great portion of his after life was troubled by the consequences of these acts. He still, however, pursued his schemes against Richard and his negotiations with John, urged, persuaded, attempted to bribe the emperor to detain his royal prisoner, and sought, it would seem, a personal interview with the treacherous brother of the King of England, in order to concert more vigorous measures for the destruction of their mutual enemy. John, it would seem, hesitated and delayed, fearful of losing the support of many of his English adherents; but at length he took the determination of going into France, for the purpose of raising the Norman nobility against his brother, and of concluding a treaty with the French monarch.

The exact date of John's departure from England I cannot ascertain. By some it is placed early in the autumn 1193, but Hoveden fixes it after Christmas, and I am inclined to believe that in this he is correct, for we find, from other sources, that early in January, 1194, the weak and deceitful prince was busily negotiating with Philip in Paris.

His efforts to seduce the Norman barons from their allegiance were speedily disposed of. He met the seneschal of Normandy and the nobility of the province at Alençon, where they were concerting means for repelling a new invasion threatened by France, and for raising the remaining portion of Richard's ransom. It is said that they asked the assistance and advice of their monarch's brother. But John replied by a demand of their allegiance, upon which condition he offered to head them against the King of France. The proposal was met with scorn and contempt, and John hurried away to Paris to throw off the mask entirely, and ally himself by treaty to his brother's inveterate foe.*

* The expression which Hoveden puts into John's mouth is a very ambiguous one. He says, "et ero defensor vester *apud* regem Franciæ." His object was evidently to induce the Norman nobility to believe that he would co-operate with them in resisting the attempts of Philip upon Normandy; and he perhaps used the word *apud* instead of *contra*, to cover an intended deceit. I may as well remark here, that Hoveden is very confused in his chronological statements, and has probably, by this confusion, caused the number of errors which exist in later English historians, regarding the events of 1193 and 1194, although due

The terms were not long in debate, although the stipulations might not be easily carried into effect, and in the course of January, 1194, the treaty was signed at Paris. By this treaty, John pretended to cede to Philip all that part of the Duchy of Normandy which lay on the right bank of the Seine, from the mouth of the sea to the French territory, with the exception of the town of Rouen and an area of two leagues around it. Several other valuable lordships were added, a large portion of Touraine and the county of Angouleme in homage, with the castles of Loches, Chatillon, and Buzençois in perpetuity. Various advantages were promised to Philip's friends, and many stipulations were added to guard the contracting parties against a peace being concluded by either with Richard, without due care of the interests of the other. This document, which is preserved

examination of his own words would have given them the order if not the exact dates, of those events. Thus he speaks of John's going to France after Christmas 1193, his transactions with the Norman nobility, his visit to Paris and negotiations with Philip, his return to England and attempt to snatch the crown on the rumour which he spread of Richard's death. He then goes back to relate Philip's first attack upon Normandy, the return of the Abbots of Boxley and Pont-Robert from Germany, and the treaty between Richard and the Emperor—to both of which he affixes a wrong date—and the proceedings of the justiciary against John, and then returns to speak of the capture of Gisors, and the attempt of Philip upon Rouen, which he places in close conjunction. In regard to the latter event, his account is less unfavourable to the arms of Philip, than that of the king's own historians.

by Rigordus, who undoubtedly had it in his hands at the time, is dated in the month of January of 1194. It makes no mention, however, in any shape, of the proposed marriage of John with the sister of the French king, upon which some English historians have dwelt; and there can be no doubt that the stipulation was merely imaginary. No sooner was this treaty concluded than John returned to England, to maintain his party in that country, furnished by the French king with some bands of men, probably mercenaries, while Philip, early in February, proceeded to pour his troops into Normandy, took the towns of Evreux, Neubourg, and Vaudreuil, and laid siege to Rouen. There, however, he was destined to receive a check; for the gallant Earl of Leicester had by this time arrived in Europe; and throwing himself into Rouen, he not only defended the city successfully, but compelled Philip to raise the siege with precipitation, burning all his military engines, a fact which is not disguised by his own friend and historiographer.*

* It will be seen that, in the above account, I differ from almost every English historian of modern times. Most of them have confounded this second expedition with that in which Philip made himself master of Gisors, and all, I believe, have placed it before the end of 1193. It must be again remarked that great confusion has been created by the different periods at which different countries, different bodies of men, and even different individuals commenced the year, which is probably the cause of some of the errors which have been made in regard to these events. Rigordus, however, in his work, dedicated to

Philip and John, however, trusted as much to intrigue as to force of arms. The news of the treaty between Richard and the emperor, had alarmed them greatly, and although John was poor, and the finances of Philip in a very deranged state, they saw the necessity of making great efforts and great sacrifices to prolong the captivity of a man whose liberation must frustrate the ambitious designs of both. Letters were written in haste to the emperor, with offers which they doubted not, from the well known character of the man, would overpower all sense of honour and of shame. Although these offers are stated differently by different historians, it is clear that they must have been calculated to outweigh the advantages secured to the greedy emperor by the treaty with the King of England, and I am inclined to think that the alter-

Prince Louis, and laid up by Philip Augustus himself in the royal archives, is so precise in regard both to the treaty with John and the second expedition of Philip into Normandy, that I can have no hesitation in receiving his account of events which were taking place under his own eyes. He places the second expedition, in which Philip was foiled before Rouen, many months after the first, and in February, 1194, after the king's marriage and separation from Ingeburga. The Parisian chancery dated, at that time, the commencement of the year at Easter, and therefore January, 1194, has, in the treaty between John and Philip, the date of January, 1193, which has probably produced error in careless historians. I am inclined to think that John made two visits to Philip, and that there is some truth in the assertion, that he met him in Normandy during his first expedition but the fact is very doubtful.

native, as stated by Berington, is not wide of the truth. John and Philip offered, we are assured, either to give a sum of eighty thousand marks, John thirty, and Philip fifty thousand, if the emperor would detain his prisoner till the Michaelmas following; or to pay a thousand pounds of silver every month so long as Henry should keep Richard in captivity; or to give a hundred and fifty thousand marks on condition that the king should be delivered into their hands, or detained in close captivity for the space of one year.

The temptation proved very strong with the emperor, and he contrived means to delay the fulfilment of his engagements till the beginning of February, 1194, at which period a diet had been called to assemble at Mayence. Even then, the monarch's liberation was very doubtful. Henry boldly acknowledged that offers of great advantage had been made to induce him to detain his royal prisoner; the messengers of Philip were introduced to the assembly; and the base and ungenerous letters were placed in Richard's own hand. The sensations of the captive prince, while his fate remained uncertain, must have been terrible; but there was honour in German princes, though not in the emperor. The roar of indignation with which the idea of detaining the King of England any longer was met by the diet, soon showed the ungenerous Henry that he would meet with no support; and the voices of Suabia, Louvain, and the Palatinate, pronounced a

bold condemnation of his conduct, and taught him that his iniquity might meet armed resistance, even in the heart of the empire. Many of the princes and the clergy who were there present had guaranteed the execution of the treaty between Henry and Richard; and they now signified, in very plain and reproachful language, that its stipulations must be fulfilled.

Henry yielded to that which he could not resist; the first instalment of the ransom was received; the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath, and a number of other distinguished personages, were accepted as hostages; and on the 4th of February Richard was liberated, after a captivity of fifteen months. His mother and a number of his friends and faithful subjects were collected in Mayence to hail his emancipation; and the miserable emperor affected to share in the joy which was created by an act which had been forced upon him. Letters were written from the diet to Philip Augustus and Prince John, announcing Richard's liberation, and requiring the immediate restoration of all territories belonging to the King of England, of which they had possessed themselves during his absence. A hint was added, that in case of neglect or refusal, the German princes would assist in arms their royal ally; and it would seem that Richard endeavoured to engage, by promises of splendid recompence, a number of the German nobles in the wars which he saw were imminent.

Before the letters of the emperor reached the

French court, Philip was made aware by his own messengers of the liberation of the King of England; and it was probably at this period, and not previously, as has been generally stated, that he wrote a laconic letter to John, announcing the fact in the following words, "Look to yourself. The Devil is unchained."

This intimation reached John in the midst of his last efforts to usurp his brother's crown. On returning from France, he had recurred to the pitiful and hopeless trick of declaring that his brother was dead, and had demanded the fealty of the barons; but he was met everywhere with indignation and contempt; and energetic measures were instantly taken to strip him of all he had unjustly acquired, and to punish him for his treacherous rebellion. A great council was assembled; John of Mortagne was pronounced a rebel; all his possessions were declared to be forfeited to the crown; and the bishops launched an excommunication against him and his accomplices. The nobility arrayed themselves in arms, in defence of their absent monarch's rights. The Bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, (the son of Fair Rosamond,) were soon in the field in the north; the warlike Hubert, formerly Bishop of Salisbury, and now primate, raised and headed an army; and before Richard reached the shores of England, the rebellion of his brother was well nigh suppressed. The only two places which held out in favour of

John were Tickhill Castle, which was at the time besieged by the Bishop of Durham, and Nottingham Castle, which was blockaded by the Earl of Huntingdon.

Six weeks elapsed, after Richard had been liberated at Mayence, before he reached England. A part of that time was passed at the imperial court, a part at Cologne, where he spent some days with the archbishop, his friend and ally. Thence, crossing the country to Antwerp, where he remained a few days, he went on to the port of Swyne, at the mouth of the Scheld, where a number of English ships were waiting to receive him. There he embarked on board a galley,* and landed at Sandwich on the 20th of March, after an absence of more than four years.

With his usual eager rapidity, Richard hurried at once to London, where he was received with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction by the citizens, who not long before had shown such culpable subserviency to the will of John. The display of wealth, we are told, was so great as to excite the wonder, and perhaps regret, of some of the imperial officers who attended the monarch back to his own domi-

* There is some doubt as to whether the name given to this vessel, by all the poets and romance writers who lived near the time of Richard, was really that of the ship or the commander. The name, Trenchmer (Cut the Sea), would seem applicable to the galley; but Hoveden, perhaps in error, calls the commander, Alanus de Trenchmer.

nions. This story, however, is very doubtful;* and it is clear that England had been very much impoverished to supply the warlike expenses and pay the ransom of the king. From London, where his delay must have been very short, Richard hastened towards Nottingham, turning aside only to offer up the banner of Cyprus at the shrine of St. Edmund. We find him under the walls of Nottingham Castle, on the fifth day after his foot touched the shores of England. Tickhill had already capitulated, on full assurance of the king's arrival; but the garrison of Nottingham showed a disposition to resist to the last, notwithstanding the king's presence in the besieging army. A vigorous assault, however, carried on under Richard's own command, soon taught those who commanded in the place that a stronger hand was raised against them than any which they had yet encountered; and Nottingham surrendered three days after Richard had arrived beneath its walls.

The party of John was now at an end in England. All the strong places he had held were in the king's power, and he himself had fled to the continent. Two days after, a parliament or great council of the nation met in Nottingham, which continued to sit from the 30th of March to the 2nd of April.† On the second day of the council, the conduct of John came under consideration. His treason and rebellion were clear; Richard had himself seen the

* It is told by Hemingford, an author of very little authority.

† Some say that its deliberations were prolonged till the 3rd of April.

treacherous proposals made on his part to the Emperor of Germany ; his troops had resisted the monarch in arms ; and, had any other proof been wanting, the Archbishop of Canterbury had sufficient evidence to convict him in his hands, which had been obtained in a somewhat curious manner. Some time before the king's return, an intriguing monk of St. Edmund's, named Adam, who was an old acquaintance of Hubert's, arrived in London, and paid a visit to the primate. Hubert entertained his friend sumptuously, although he was known to be a partizan of Prince John. Either treachery, loquacity, or drunkenness, led the monk to communicate to the archbishop various particulars regarding the alliance between John and Philip, and to display the plans for raising a formidable insurrection in England, which were then advancing towards maturity. The primate suffered his guest to depart ; but some communication took place with the lord mayor of London, which induced that magistrate to order the apprehension of the monk ; and papers were found upon him which proved the detestable treason of his master, John. These were laid before the council previous to Richard's return ; and at the parliament of Nottingham, the prince was cited to appear within forty days, to answer for his conduct, or in default to have sentence of confiscation definitively pronounced against him. On the third day of the council's sitting, the principal object of its deliberations was decided. A war with

France was imminent. Philip was already in the field and making progress; and Richard required supplies both of money and of men. A liberal grant of two shillings on every hide of land, was awarded by the parliament to carry on the war; and on the fourth day, proceedings were taken against the principal adherents of John, who were condemned to deprivation and confiscation, without much examination of facts which were notorious. The chief of those who suffered were Hugh Lord Bardolph, the Bishop of Coventry, and Gerard de Camville. To guard against any evil effects from the oath which John had induced the principal nobility to take, regarding the succession to the crown, that prince was solemnly declared incapable of succeeding on account of his recent treasons. In the same sitting, it was resolved that, in order to wipe away the stain of his recent imprisonment, Richard should be again crowned at Winchester, seven days after Easter; and the King of Scotland, William the Lion, who was present in this parliament, accompanied his friend and ally to take part in the ceremony.

The vindication of the law against traitors, the recognition of the monarch's rights, and the supply of his necessities had all been provided for by this parliament with extraordinary celerity; but it seems to me that a modern author, who shows throughout his work a prejudiced hostility towards Richard, somewhat oversteps the bounds of fair interpretation, when he finds in the words of any contemporary

historian, "that Richard decided and enacted without any reference to the opinion or votes of the meeting."* That his wishes and his necessities should have great weight with his affectionate and admiring subjects, is not to be wondered at; and every one was doubtless glad to show his sympathy with his king, and to aid him in crushing those enemies who owed to his long and unjust imprisonment the power of injuring him. I can find nothing to blame in Richard's conduct at Nottingham; but some of his subsequent acts are not so easily justified. His coronation took place on the day appointed; and William, King of Scotland, we are assured, bore the sword of state before him, as Earl of Huntingdon.

This is a curious fact, if it be a fact; for David, Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, a gallant and distinguished nobleman nearly allied to the Scottish king, and who had done good service at the siege of Nottingham, was also in England at the time.

The same hand which had wielded the sword by the monarch's side now placed the crown upon his brow; and the ceremony was performed by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury; but Geoffrey, the king's illegitimate brother, Archbishop of York, was not present. His absence is attributed to a ridiculous squabble with the primate, in regard to a cross; but I am inclined to believe, that other and deeper motives withheld Geoffrey from the scene. Although in the conspiracy against the king, Geoffrey had nobly displayed his fidelity, yet in order to take

* Berington.

possession of the archbishopric of York, he had returned to England contrary to the king's express commands, if not to his own solemn oath; and we find that Richard so far resented this act, or so far yielded to the impulse of his own necessities, as to exact two thousand marks of silver from Geoffrey before he would permit him to enjoy his archbishopric in peace. Five thousand marks were wrung from the Bishop of Coventry to regain the monarch's grace, and the Cistercian monks were pressed or persuaded to yield their whole crop of wool for one year to supply the king with money. All this was not sufficient, however; and, in the end, two most unjust and disgraceful acts were resorted to by Richard to replenish his finances.

I have shown, in a preceding part of this work, that, before he departed for Syria, Richard had alienated various portions of the royal demesne. Whether he had any right to do so, is more than doubtful, and the exact particulars of the transaction have not been clearly ascertained. All we know is, that he sold certain lands and lordships for very insignificant sums. He now resumed them, alleging as his only excuse that those who possessed them must have fully indemnified themselves, during his absence, for the sums they had paid. I find no clause of redemption alluded to, as was the case in the sale of Cyprus, otherwise I might conclude that in this instance, as in that, Richard had been blamed unjustly, and that the lands had only been granted as a *pignus*, or pledge, for the repayment of money

borrowed. His excuse, if he ever made that which I have mentioned, would show that he knew the act to be unjust; but the holders submitted to the might which makes right; and the general people did not much murmur at one wrong which redressed another. Perhaps a still greater iniquity followed or accompanied this transaction, if we are to believe Hoveden. Upon the pretence that, in his expedition to the Holy Land, the seal had been lost, the impression of which had been fixed to many documents and charters, he forced the holders of those instruments to bring them for authentication under a new seal, exacting a fine upon the occasion.*

Such are the means which, we are informed, were adopted by Richard to recruit his treasury; and they bear too strong a resemblance to the methods he employed before he took his departure for the Holy Land to leave much doubt of the general accuracy of the statement. That he was generous even to profusion when he possessed money, is well known; but, that he was most unscrupulous as to the means of extorting it when he required it himself, admits of as little doubt.

The King of Scotland had shown himself a sincere

* This is a curious story. It is positively asserted that Richard caused these instruments to be re-sealed, on the pretence that the seal under which they had passed had been lost at Cyprus; and yet we know that the body of Malus-Catulus was cast on shore, and the seal found hanging round his neck. See page 90 of this volume.

and faithful friend, during the whole time of Richard's absence in Syria and his imprisonment in Germany. Not to have done what he might have done to injure an ally, might in those days be considered as a positive act of service and amity; and William probably thought that he had established a claim to recompence. He took advantage of his visit to Richard at Winchester, to press for a grant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, alleging some claim or title thereto; and there can be no doubt that the extravagance of this request was in some degree diminished by the concessions which former Kings of England had made to the Scottish monarchs. But Richard was in no condition, and probably had no inclination, to strip himself of such important territories; and he rejected the demand, though in the kindest and most considerate manner. At the same time, to show his esteem and gratitude towards William, he signed a charter awarding high honours to all Scottish kings who should visit England. They were to be met and escorted by the sheriff of every county through which they passed on their way to the court, were to be furnished abundantly with bread and wine, and allowed one hundred shillings per diem, then an immense sum, for the expenses of their journey.

While these events had been taking place, a large fleet and army had been collected at Portsmouth; and Richard's departure was hastened, we are told, by intelligence that Philip was

besieging Verneuil. A curious tale is related of the effect produced upon him by this intelligence, in which I do not place confidence, although it is in perfect accordance with the manners and ideas of the day. It is said, that the news was brought to the king when he was sitting at dinner, and that giving way to a burst of anger, he swore that he would not turn his face till he had met his enemy. Such an oath, strictly kept, might have produced many very ludicrous and many disastrous inconveniences. Only one, however, is mentioned by the historian—Richard's face happened not to be towards the door; and to show his determination he caused the wall to be pulled down, and went out through the aperture. Certain it is however, that he was forced to turn his face before he reached the shores of France. He joined his army at Portsmouth in the end of April, and set sail on the 2nd of May; but contrary winds and tempestuous weather drove him back to the port; and he did not reach Barfleur till the 12th of that month.*

* Richard might be irritated and accelerated in his movements by the knowledge that Philip was preparing again to invade his territories; but such an effect could hardly be produced by a knowledge of the siege of Verneuil, for the king of France did not enter Normandy till the 10th of May. The siege commenced on the following day, and Richard, after having been driven back by contrary winds, reached Barfleur on the 12th.

BOOK XXIII.

THE part of Richard's life which follows his return to Normandy has never yet been historically written. Vague, uncertain, inaccurate sketches, have been given, and some writers have contented themselves with declaring, that the events of this part of history were so unimportant, as to require a mere outline, and have then made the outline they afford obscure and inaccurate. I will endeavour to correct some errors, and to add some facts; and where I cannot bring light into the darkness, I will avoid misleading any one therein.*

In order to arrive at any certainty with regard to the facts of this part of Richard's history, the French historians must be diligently compared with the English and Norman writers, not without due

* Doubtless, in so doing, I may bring many an attack upon my head from those who have become imbued by prejudiced statements and one-sided views; but I am not to be deterred from displaying the truth by any reverence for error.

consideration both of natural prejudice and national character. In the English will be found a somewhat slovenly disregard of dates, a culpable indifference to the minute facts which are often explanatory of great events, and a cold self-satisfaction in regard to the exploits of their king and their armies. In the French are met the usual vain-boasting, the usual attempt to conceal defeat and to exaggerate success, but more detail, and more chronological and geographical accuracy. In point of sincerity, Rigordus, whom I shall often have occasion to depend upon, stands an honourable exception. Though willing always to find excuses for a sovereign whom he loved and admired, he dared, on many occasions, to blame him to his face; and though, in regard to many of the events he describes, there can be no doubt that he received prejudiced accounts from others, he showed himself always willing to state the truth wherever it had been discovered. William the Breton, on whose modest work M. Capefigue relies, writes with all the prejudices of a Frenchman, and all the extravagance of a poet; but his prose work is occasionally serviceable as explaining particulars which others neglected or disdained to mention. The English historians and their relative merit are already known to the reader.

To form a clear idea of the events which followed Richard's landing at Barfleur, we must examine, as far as possible, what was the relative position of

the English possessions on the continent, and those of Philip Augustus, at that time. A great change had taken place since Richard sailed for Palestine. Philip had improved the opportunity of his early return; and John, to plunder a brother, had bribed an enemy. Let us refer more at large to the treaty which I have before briefly noticed, entered into between the Count of Mortagne and the King of France, in January, 1194; for, from the want of a due consideration of this document, and of a knowledge of the steps taken by Philip to secure the concessions it implied, innumerable mistakes have been made.

By that treaty, John ceded to the King of France the whole of that part of Normandy, and it was then very extensive, situated on the right bank of the Seine, from the mouth of the river to the existing frontier of France, with the exception of the town of Rouen, and a circuit of two leagues around it. This, together with Gisors and its territory, comprised the whole of that part of France now forming the department of the Seine inferieure, and, it would appear, something more on the side of Beauvais and Pontoise.

Moreover, on the left bank of the Seine, the whole territory was ceded to the east of the river Iton, including the towns of Chesnebrun, Vaudreuil, Verneuil, Evreux, and Ivry. In Touraine, an immense district was made over to the King of France, extending from the confluence of the Indre and the

Loire, all along the Indre as far as that river flowed through the English territories, and comprising even two towns—Loches and Chatillon—on the left bank of the river. This cession included the towns of Tours, Amboise, Montrichard, and Montbazon, with the whole territory on the left bank of the Loire and right of the Indre, to the French frontier. It will be remarked that the powerful community of St. Martin of Tours seems to have taken part in the negotiation.

On the other bank of the Loire, the Count of Blois, by favour of the King of France, received at the hands of John all the territories possessed by England on the banks of the little river Loir (not to be confounded with Loire), including the towns and feofs of Troo, La Chatre, Vendome, and Freteval, which brought him again up to the French frontier.

Various friends of the King of France were bribed to co-operation, and we find mentioned amongst them, Geoffrey, Count of Perche, the Count of Angouleme, the Count of St. Giles, and Philip de Giene.

The clear understanding of these concessions, and of the treachery displayed both by John himself and by several vassals or allies of the English king, is necessary to the comprehension, not only of subsequent events, but of Richard's conduct in transactions for which he has been unjustly blamed.

No sooner was the treaty signed than the King of

France proceeded, as I have shown elsewhere, to take forcible possession of the territories ceded to him. He seized the towns of Evreux, Neubourg, and Vaudreuil; and his armies, it would appear, overran the whole of that part of Normandy which lay on the right bank of the Seine, taking whatever towns they could, and even going rather farther than the treaty justified, by attacking Rouen itself. After Philip's defeat before that place, he retired for some time to refresh his troops, and then laid siege, as I have shown, to the town of Verneuil, passing the frontiers of Normandy on the 10th of May. While carrying on these operations himself, on the northern and western frontiers of Normandy, it is clear that his officers proceeded to occupy the ceded lands in Touraine, although we find none of the details, either in the French or English historians. It is probable that the monks of St. Martin of Tours, who were very powerful in that district, aided the commanders sent by the King of France; and it is evident that Philip had obtained possession of the whole territory between the Indre and Loire early in 1194. At the same time, the Count of Blois was not inactive; and a considerable portion, at least, of the lands ceded by John fell into his hands.

Thus Richard, on his arrival in Normandy, found his continental dominions greatly curtailed in extent, by the treachery of his brother and the activity of his enemy. He was at the head of a powerful army, however; for he had obtained, at the parlia-

ment of Nottingham, a vote by which one-third part of the whole feudal forces of the kingdom was placed at his disposal; and he now hurried forward with his usual rapidity to meet his adversary in the field, and relieve his officers besieged in Verneuil.

Soon after landing in France,—but whether at Barfleur or at Rouen, would seem doubtful,—he was visited by, and reconciled to, his brother John. The treacherous prince came without any other safe-conduct than the mediation of Eleanor and a knowledge of Richard's generous nature. Generally clement and merciful to the unresisting, although he might know their penitence to be feigned and their submission compulsory, Richard's was not a nature to refuse forgiveness to his brother, however he might despise his character and reprobate his conduct. John cast himself at his feet, with tears and apparent repentance, and Richard raised him up, saying, we are assured, with generous sincerity, "Would that I could as soon forget your offences, as you will forget my forgiveness." He wisely refrained, however, from restoring to him those large possessions, which might have proved a means and an inducement to evil.*

Richard marched straight towards Verneuil at

* A fearful charge is made against John, in regard to his conduct at this time, by William the Breton, one of the historians of Philip Augustus. It is reported by him, in his poem of the Philipide, as well as in his Life of the King. Many French historians have greatly depended upon the Philipide,

the head of his troops; but he found that the besieging army had retreated in haste at his approach, leaving a quantity of their baggage behind them. The cause of this sudden flight is differently stated by different authors; and the French historians of modern times have of course chosen the statement, which is most favourable to their king, and most calumnious of an English prince, although the exercise of even a slight degree of unprejudiced criticism would have shown them, not only that the authority on which they relied was not to be trusted, but that their account could not be accurate. It is generally stated by the writers of the English party, that Philip raised the siege of Verneuil in alarm, on the approach of Richard. The narrative of the sincere Rigordus, historiographer to Philip Augustus, differs but little from this account, though he explains the conduct of his royal master. He says that Philip, hearing that the town of Evreux, of which he had made himself master earlier in the year, had been retaken by the Normans, the garrison made prisoners, and some of them decapitated, left part of his army under the walls of Verneuil, while he marched to recover and to punish Evreux. During his absence, the rest of the army under Verneuil, lost courage and decamped, leaving their stores at

especially Monsieur de Capefigue, though a more extravagant tissue of bombast, equally destitute of truth and reason, is hardly to be met with. One English author, Mr. Berington, has copied from some of the French historians who relied upon this work.

the mercy of the enemy. This is a very probable account, and I entertain no doubt of its accuracy. William the Breton, however, tells another story, which is not only untrue, but impossible. He says that after the capture of Evreux, in the month of February, Philip gave that town to John, who, with the view of reconciling himself to his brother, invited all Philip's knights in the place to a grand banquet, where he caused them to be massacred by English troops which he had secretly introduced into the place. Now in the month of February, when Evreux was first taken by Philip, John was in England. The siege of Verneuil began on the eleventh of May. It had lasted three weeks when Philip received the news of the fall of Evreux. Richard landed at Barfleur on the twelfth of May, and was joined either there on the thirteenth, or at Rouen on the sixteenth, by his brother John. The distance between Evreux and Verneuil I have myself passed in one easy day's journey; but supposing that in those times it required two days to carry the news of the fall of Evreux to Philip, it is clear that place could not have been retaken by the English till a fortnight after John had been reconciled to his brother. These simple dates completely overthrow the whole statement of William the Breton, and leave the falsehood apparent.*

* Nevertheless, with these facts before their eyes, together with the plain, straightforward account of Rigordus, their own countryman, and Philip's official historiographer, the French

We are not aware of Richard's exact line of march from Rouen to Verneuil; but it is probable that he took the route by Conches, and sent a detachment to assist the inhabitants of Evreux, always attached to his rule, in recovering possession of the city. Some excesses, doubtless, were committed, as Rigordus states, which might give occasion to the vengeance afterwards mentioned.

We are assured that Richard advanced upon Verneuil by L'Aigle, and that he was at that place when the besieging army decamped. This was certainly not in his direct line of march, but obstacles might interpose, in any other course, of which we are not now aware. Richard entered Verneuil, revictualed the place, and gave orders for the repair of the walls. He had then to consider in what direction he would turn his arms; for hostile opera-

historians, and Anquetil especially, perpetuate the falsehood without shame. In a little history, lately published, of the life of Richard, these events are confused with others, the author apparently not aware that Evreux had been taken by Philip in the beginning of the year, and afterwards retaken by the English. His account of Philip's movements is, that he retired from Verneuil at the approach of Richard, then advanced upon Rouen, took a castle at no great distance from that city, drew off his forces towards Evreux, made the Earl of Leicester prisoner, and then took, plundered, and burned the town of Evreux. I find no trace at this time of any of the events mentioned, between Philip's departure from Verneuil, and the burning of Evreux. All the French contemporary historians are agreed that, from Verneuil, Philip marched straight to Evreux, and burned that city, obtaining entrance probably by the citadel, which still contained a French garrison.

tions were going on at all points. He was decided, perhaps, by some such considerations as the following: Normandy was full of gallant men, all well attached to the English crown; and the seneschal, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Earl of Leicester, were there to direct the political and military affairs of the province. On the side of Touraine, however, the French had made great progress; the whole of the country between the Indre and Loire had been occupied early in the year; and even the strong town of Loches had been taken and garrisoned by French troops. A body of Richard's forces, under the command of the Prince of Navarre, the brother of his queen, had invested Loches some time before; but no progress, it would seem, had been made in the siege. Serious dangers also menaced on the side of Vendome; and Freteval, it would appear, had already fallen.

In these circumstances, Richard determined to hurry in the first instance to Touraine; and marching on with the utmost rapidity, he arrived under the walls of Loches, which was almost immediately taken. He next proceeded to Tours, where he punished with great severity the monks of St. Martin, for their treasonable intrigues with the King of France; and he then prepared to march on, to recover the territories which had fallen to the Count of Blois under the treaty between John and Philip.

In the meantime, the King of France seems to

have crossed the Seine, and to have committed great ravages in the part of Normandy lying on the right bank of that river. Rigordus acknowledges that he plundered the churches and monasteries, drove out the monks and priests, and seized their revenues. The excuse made for these acts is, that they were done in retaliation for Richard's conduct towards the monks of St. Martin of Tours; but the King of England suffered a far greater misfortune in this quarter, than the evils inflicted upon the churches of the duchy. His gallant friend, the Earl of Leicester, trusting himself in the open country, insufficiently accompanied, if not totally alone as some authors assert, was surprised by a party of Philip's cavalry and made prisoner.* He was immediately sent to Estampes, where he remained long in confinement, Philip demanding an exorbitant ransom, which was raised with much difficulty. Some small places of no great importance fell into the hands of the French during this expedition; but the King of France was soon called away to another part of the land, by the news of Richard's progress in the south. The small town of Beaumont had been already taken; and the movements of the English king threatened the Orleanois itself. Philip

* The Earl of Leicester was taken on the 15th of June, very soon after the destruction of Evreux. The bombastic William the Breton would fain give the capture of Leicester the air of a battle, and a defeat of the English troops; but it is quite certain that the earl, if not totally alone, was only accompanied by a few common attendants.

in consequence marched with all speed to the aid of his relation, the Count of Blois; but he was never fortunate in the presence of Richard. His army was attacked on the 5th of July, between Freteval and Blois by the Norman and English forces, led by Richard in person. The charge was so impetuous that the French troops were at once thrown into disorder and rout; Philip himself escaped with difficulty from the field; and the whole of his baggage fell into the hands of the King of England. A great quantity of valuable articles was taken; and, amongst the rest of the spoil, were the whole papers of the French chancery. It would seem that documents of so much value were not likely to be carried about in the train of an army; but such it would appear was the custom in France, where many questions of feudal right required constant reference to charters and other documents. Although frequent truces took place afterwards, Richard would never restore the papers he had seized.*

Eager to make his great enemy prisoner, the King of England pursued the fugitives for some way into France. Philip only escaped, the English historians say, by hiding himself in a church; but it is clear that the defeat of Freteval showed the French monarch

* A recent history of Richard places in Normandy this action, which in reality occurred between Freteval and Blois, at a small place called Belfou. Such inattention to geography frequently causes very serious mistakes. The battle was fought upon the frontiers of Touraine, far distant from the nearest point of Normandy.

that peace was more necessary to himself than to his adversary; and a truce, which had often been spoken of during the course of the operations I have detailed, was soon after concluded for the space of one year. The war was resumed as soon as this suspension of arms came to a close; and the only effect of the treaty, which it may be necessary to mention, was the restoration of Philip's sister to her brother, after having been long unjustly detained by two kings and infamously ill used by Henry II. Notwithstanding the rumour of her intrigue with that prince, many noblemen were found in France willing to ally themselves to the royal family by espousing the princess; and Philip bestowed her hand upon the Count of Ponthieu in the course of the year 1195.

The period of tranquillity which succeeded, was employed by Richard, it would seem, in preparing for war. He contrived various means of raising money, and engaged some large bodies of those mercenary troops called Brabançois, or Brabanters, in his service, under the command of a famous leader, named Marchader or Merchades. The previous history of this personage is little known: he starts out into prominence during the latter years of Richard's reign, and was thenceforward his constant companion and friend. All means were employed also to raise the military spirit of the people, and tournaments, which had always been opposed by the clergy as cruel and dangerous sports, and against which there were several decrees actually

existing, received the formal sanction of the king in a letter addressed to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury. Five places in England were specially appointed for the celebration of these military festivals, under certain regulations, and in the presence of certain officers to be named by the justiciary. No foreigner was to be permitted to enter the lists; and a fee was demanded from every combatant, amounting to twenty marks for an earl, ten for a baron, four for a knight possessing land, and two for a landless knight. These were large sums in that day; but nevertheless we find from Jocelin of Brakelond that the English nobility eagerly seized the permission, and even endeavoured to hold tournaments in other places besides those appointed. The payment of these fees might tend in some small degree to increase the revenue of the crown; but it is not to be supposed that the persons inclined to seek these amusements were so numerous as to induce Richard to grant the permission solely for the purpose of raising money, as has been insinuated. Other means, however, were, as I have said, employed to fill a treasury which by this time must have been nearly empty; and we find that commissioners were sent into every county of England, to inquire what debts were due to the crown, and cause them to be paid immediately.

Although the war with France during the early part of 1194 had been a great expense, and its probable renewal, as soon as the truce was at an

end, induced the English monarch to seek supplies by all means, yet there were other strong motives for raising money without delay. A part of the king's ransom was not yet paid; and it would appear from the transactions which followed, that the Emperor Henry had retained the first instalment, leaving the debt to the Duke of Austria to be paid from the remainder.* That prince, as greedy and even more brutal than his imperial ally, became impatient at the delay, and sent Baldwin of Bethune, who had remained in Germany, as one of the hostages, to demand from Richard the fulfilment of his unexecuted engagements, with a threat of taking vengeance upon the hostages, if the stipulations of the treaty were not immediately performed. The sum which still remained to be paid was considerable; and Richard had also promised to give his niece, the Princess of Brittany, in marriage to the son of the duke, and yield the captive Princess of Cyprus to the care of the Duchess of Austria.

Although doubtless very unwilling to enrich his base adversary, and not less to marry a niece to his son, Richard felt the perilous position of his friends, knew the unscrupulous harshness of the man, and exerted himself to the utmost to raise the money. This was effected before the end of 1194; and

* I know not how this is to be reconciled with the statement made by many very credible historians, that the inner walls of Vienna were built with the money paid as Richard's ransom. At all events, it is certain that, at the time of the duke's death, a considerable portion of the ransom still remained unpaid.

Baldwin of Bethune set out for Vienna, taking with him the ransom and the two princesses.

An event had happened, however, before the arrival of Baldwin in the Austrian dominions, which rendered his mission unnecessary. At a great festival held on the 26th of December, (in celebration, according to some accounts, of the anniversary of Richard's scandalous detention,) a tournament was given in Austria, and by a fall of his horse, the duke's leg was broken just above the ankle. Mortification ensued, and it soon became apparent to that prince and his attendants that his life was drawing to a close. All hopes of the body being over, the duke's next consideration was for his soul; and the bishops and priests by whom he was surrounded in his last moments, persuaded him to resign all claim to that which he could not hope to receive or to retain on earth, in order to secure the prospect of better things in heaven. He ordered the hostages to be set at liberty and the ransom to be remitted; and, with this scanty death-bed atonement for an act which covers his memory with infamy, he died in peace. His son showed some disposition to resist the execution of his father's will; but the prelates refused to allow the body to be buried till the act of atonement was completed; and the manumission of the hostages having taken place, Baldwin returned to his lord with the ransom and the princesses.

I have shown that when Richard departed from the Holy Land, his Queen Berengaria, his sister, Joan, Queen of Sicily, and the Princess of Cyprus

had taken their departure with the fleet some days before he set sail himself. But little is known of the farther history of Berengaria, except from the traditional account, not much to be relied upon, of the metrical chronicler Langtofft, and other historians not contemporary. We know, however, that the fleet in which she sailed was beaten about for some time in the Mediterranean by storms, and that the three royal ladies at length landed in Italy. There, it would appear, they received intelligence of Richard's captivity, and fearing to proceed, lest they should fall into the hands of some of his enemies, they remained for several months in that country, and in the end embarked at Genoa for Marseilles. How long they stayed at the latter port we do not know; but they then directed their steps across the territory of the Count of St. Giles, whom Joan afterwards married, towards Poitou, and, it is probable, joined Richard at Tours, before the battle of Freteval. Nothing farther is known, with any degree of certainty, regarding the history of Berengaria, except that she had some cause to complain of the inconstancy of Richard, and that if she murmured at all, it was without violence and in quiet secresy.

The year 1194 was distinguished by some tremendous storms, in which the lightning set fire to villages, churches, and towns; and hail, of enormous size and unusual shape, desolated the fields, destroying the vines, and mixing the corn in the fields with the earth out of which it grew. The early

part of 1195 was also tempestuous and inauspicious for the husbandman; and both in France and England famine and pestilence began to show themselves, though we may be permitted to doubt whether the former was not greatly aggravated by desolating wars, carried on in the cruel and destructive spirit of feudal times. Rapine and waste followed the armies wherever they came. No property was respected; and excesses were committed, against which, it would appear, the church protested loudly, and of which the two kings were themselves ashamed.*

In July, 1195, the truce of a year between the two kings came to an end; but the facts attending the resumption of hostilities are, as usual, very differently stated by the French and English historians. The former declare that the King of England was the first to take up arms, although it had been understood, that the truce had been concluded only with a view to the arrangement of a secure peace. The English, on the contrary, relate the matter as follows; and their statement is in some degree confirmed by an author more to be depended upon in regard to facts which he suffers inadvertently to appear, than respecting those points where his assertions are positive. As soon as the truce was at an end, Philip entered that part of Normandy in which he had garrisons, and, judging

* By an after treaty, Richard and Philip mutually agreed, in any future hostilities, to spare the lands of the church.

that it would be impossible for him to retain the strong places he held, proceeded rapidly to demolish the fortifications, so as to render the country open at any time to his future incursions. Richard immediately put himself at the head of some troops, and marched to encounter his wily enemy, whom he came up with in the immediate vicinity of Vaudreuil. The politic King of France however, engaged Richard in negotiations for peace, giving secret directions to the garrison in Vaudreuil, to undermine the walls of the castle, while he artfully engaged the attention of the English monarch. During a conference with Philip himself or some of his envoys, Richard was startled by a tremendous noise, and looking towards Vaudreuil, perceived the walls of the fortress lying in ruins. Enraged at the deceit which had been practised, the English monarch called his troops to arms, but the French had been prepared for the result, and retreated rapidly, before the English and Norman army was ready to attack them. William the Breton, as I have said, in some degree confirms this account, saying that Richard was an eye-witness of the dismantling of Vaudreuil, and was violently enraged.*

* The same author, before relating this event, mentions, without date, an attack made upon Vaudreuil by John, together with the Earl of Arundel, some of the citizens of Rouen, and a large body of Norman troops. Philip, he says, who was then at Bourges, in Berri, marched secretly against the besieging forces, attacked them suddenly, and dispersed them with great loss. Rigordus confirms this account, and states that Philip surprised John at break of day.

The war was then resumed with great acrimony; but it would appear that the forces of Richard were not sufficient to defend the great line of frontier exposed to attack, and the result of the campaign was not very favourable to his arms. It is difficult to fix the exact dates to the events which ensued, to tell the movements of the armies in their proper succession, or to say at which of the different skirmishes and sieges either of the kings was present in person; but we know enough to see that the balance of success turned in favour of Philip. Every English historian, I believe, has passed over the warlike events which took place at this time, with the assertion that they were unimportant, but, in reality, more influenced by the difficulty of discovering the facts, than by their insignificance, for in truth they tend to show us the motives upon which Richard consented to a peace, at the end of this year, far less advantageous than might have been expected under other circumstances. I shall therefore endeavour to give a general notion of the successes and reverses on both sides, although I cannot accurately define the dates or the details.

The castle of Arques, in the immediate vicinity of the town of Dieppe, had fallen into the hands of Philip; and shortly after Vaudreuil had been dismantled, we find this strong place attacked by some of the forces of England. Philip immediately marched to its relief with a superior army, and succeeded in raising the siege. He then advanced against Dieppe, at that time a place of great importance, and one of

the principal ports upon the coast of Normandy. The particulars of the siege we do not know, but it fell before the arms of the French king, who plundered and destroyed it, burned the vessels in the port, and carried away a number of the inhabitants as prisoners. Richard, it would appear, as soon as he heard of the attack upon Dieppe, advanced to the aid of the town. It had fallen before his arrival, however, and he only succeeded in coming up with the rear guard of Philip's army, which he attacked and nearly cut to pieces.

In the meantime, Merchades, at the head of his Brabançois, had entered Berri, and taken the town of Issoudun, which had been ceded to France by Henry II. many years before.* A short truce was immediately after concluded by the two kings, neither the motives nor the

* Some great mistakes have been made with regard to these events, in a modern history of Richard I., at least if we are to read Issendon as Issoudun, which I suppose must be the case, as there is no place of the name of Issendon in France. It is there stated, in regard to this campaign, "The first incursion was made by the French, who ravaged Normandy as far as Dieppe, burned that town, with all the shipping in the harbour, took the town of Issendon, and laid siege to its fortress." The fact was really the exact reverse. While Philip was attacking Dieppe, Merchades, as I have stated, took both town and fortress of Issoudun and garrisoned it for the King of England. At least so says Rigordus, and so says William the Breton also, neither of whom were likely to attribute to the English an imaginary success, or to their own monarch an imaginary reverse. Issoudun is in Berri, not in Normandy, and the whole course of events is thus disfigured.

particulars of which are very clear. It is probable, however, that the disastrous intelligence of the great successes obtained by the Moors in Spain against Alphonso IX., and the exhortations of the priests, made both Philip and Richard ashamed of wars in which Christian was armed against Christian, while the infidel was making progress in Europe itself. The truce was agreed upon till the subsequent November, perhaps to give time for negotiation; but as soon as it terminated, Philip marched to recover Issoudun, and Richard hastened to meet him and support Merchades. The two armies came in presence between Issoudun and Charost on the Arnon, and a general battle seemed inevitable. But it would appear that the church once more interfered, and found means to touch the heart of at least one of the two monarchs who had been lately engaged together in a war against the infidels. With generous confidence, Richard, with a very few attendants, visited the camp of the French king, and proposed a treaty of peace.* His offer was readily accepted, and some of the terms, it would seem, were agreed upon; but the more definite details were referred

* Such is the account given by the French historians themselves; but they go on to give particulars of Richard's interview with Philip, which are not confirmed by the treaty itself, as recorded in their own pages. They endeavour to make it appear that Richard came as a vassal to submit to his sovereign lord; but in the treaty Richard not only speaks as a king, but sometimes does so towards Philip in a very imperative tone.

to a conference, to be held in the month of January following, when the Bishops and Archbishops of France and Normandy were to be present and act as mediators.

The assembly took place on the fifteenth January, 1196, between Vaudreuil and Chateau Gaillon, and terms were agreed upon, which have been preserved. By this treaty, Richard gave up the long-disputed Vexin, and a line was to be drawn straight from the river Eure to the Seine, passing halfway between Gaillon and Vaudreuil, all to the east of which was to belong to Philip, while the portion on the west remained with Richard. This was a very important concession on the part of the King of England; for the territory yielded comprised Vernon on the Seine, Pacy on the Eure, together with Chateau Gaillon, Ivry, and Nonancourt. But on the other hand, concessions equally extensive were made by Philip, some of which were of the greatest importance. Besides all which he had lately acquired on the right bank of the Seine, and everything which had been taken from Richard during his captivity in Germany, with the exception of the lands specified above, an immense tract of valuable country bordering on Touraine was ceded by Philip, comprising nearly one half of Berri. The whole country along the left bank of the river Cher, from Chatillon sur Cher till the river entered Touraine, with a number of important towns, comprising Chatillon itself, were given up to Richard, and the line was run along

from the Cher to the Creuse by Chateau Meillant and La Chatre. This was a most valuable acquisition, as the frontier of Touraine, on the left bank of the Loire, had been exposed to many incursions from the side of Berri and the Bourbonnais, and a defensible frontier was now assigned by the course of the Cher. The only person who could henceforward annoy Richard in that part of his dominions was the Count of St. Giles; and while Richard promised not to make war upon him, if he would submit their disputes to the arbitration of the King of France, Philip engaged not to give aid and assistance to that nobleman if he refused to accept the terms of the treaty.

These are the principal and most important points which were settled at the conferences in January, 1196. Other clauses are added, providing for the interests of several adherents of the two kings; and some stipulations are made in regard to the Andelys, where, it would appear, Richard had already begun to lay the foundations of the famous Chateau Gaillard, and which it was now agreed should not be fortified. The two kings pledged themselves to restore what they had taken from the churches in the territories of each other, and not to permit the same excesses to be committed any more. It might appear that such a treaty afforded fair hopes of a long period of tranquillity; but the result was far different, and only a few months elapsed ere it was violated. Some English historians have insinuated that the

treaty was never signed; but it would certainly appear that in this they are in error. It is true that it remained effective for even a shorter time than treaties, the most fragile of all things, usually endure. But the French writers universally cry out against its infraction, and take so much pains to show that Richard was the aggressor, as to lead to a conviction that the treaty did actually receive signature, and to a suspicion that the terms were violated by Philip.

The causes which again brought on hostilities are very obscure. It would seem certain that the Emperor Henry, who had by this time made himself master of Sicily, upon the death of Tancred the usurper, and had infamously and cruelly treated the young son of that prince, sought to extend his empire on the side of France, and negotiated with Richard for aid and co-operation in the proposed war. A certain portion of the king's ransom was still unpaid, and Henry showed an unusual degree of liberality in regard to that sum; but as it was very trifling, I cannot conceive that Richard suffered the existence of this debt to influence his conduct towards Philip. It is certain, indeed, that Longchamp, who still remained Richard's chancellor, though not permitted to exercise his office in England, was sent into Germany, to negotiate with the emperor or his ministers. He crossed the territories of Philip, who affected great indignation at his mission, and endeavoured to intercept him; but the bishop contrived to elude his vigilance, and

passed in safety. Many details are given by one or two contemporary and several subsequent historians as to the transactions which took place at this time between Richard and the emperor; but I must decline to admit such statements into these pages, as I am by no means satisfied of their accuracy.*

Almost simultaneously, the towns of Vierzon, in Berri, and Aumale on the Bresle, in northern Normandy, were attacked by Richard and Philip. The lord of the former place, it would appear, possessed territories on the left bank of the Cher, now under the domination of Richard, and on account of some real or imaginary cause of offence, the King of England passed the river, and seized upon Vierzon itself. Though this deed was clearly done in a private quarrel, it was perhaps sufficient to justify Philip in looking upon the treaty as infringed; and he at once marched and laid siege to Aumale, which, however, resisted all his efforts for nearly two months. His army, it would appear, was very large; and the threatening aspect of Britanny at this time, prevented the King of England from bringing the whole of his forces to the relief of Aumale. He endeavoured to effect a diversion, however, by attacking Nonancourt, of which place

* It would seem, indeed, very improbable that Henry should at this time entertain a great scheme for the absolute extinction of the French monarchy, when he was actively employed in preparations, upon a vast scale, for a new German crusade. The two enterprises were incompatible.

he made himself master, and then attempted with inferior forces to compel Philip to raise the siege which he had undertaken. In this the English monarch was unsuccessful; and at length, after a practicable breach had been effected in the walls, the garrison of Aumale obtained an honourable capitulation, marching out with arms, goods, and horses. The town of Nonancourt was also recovered by the King of France, the very small garrison which Richard had left in the place* being unable to resist the overwhelming force brought against it.

Serious embarrassments, at this time, affected the position of the King of England. Secret intrigues were daily going on between his enemy and his own vassals; and the nobility of Britanny, always turbulent, showed the strongest determination to resist the authority of the English king. The son of his brother Geoffrey, now Duke of Britanny, a boy of infinite promise, had remained under the care of his mother, Constance, although she had entered into a second marriage some time before. Richard had always shown the strongest affection for his nephew, had designated him as the heir of the English throne, and had taken every means to insure his succession; but the intrigues of the King of France with the Breton nobles now induced the English monarch to determine upon assuming the formal guardianship of his nephew, to which he was entitled, both as Arthur's nearest male relation,

* Fifteen knights, eighteen cross-bowmen, and a few other soldiers.

and as his feudal lord. Constance affected to imagine that it was Richard's intention to separate her from her son, though it would appear that such was not at all the case; and, with rash haste, she threw herself into the arms of those nobles who were notoriously in the interest of the French monarch. Open resistance to the king's authority was now proclaimed; Arthur was removed as far as possible from the power of Richard; and the aid of the King of France was demanded, which was willingly promised, but never efficiently given. In these circumstances, Richard acted with decision, but yet with great forbearance. Merchades, at the head of his Brabançois, was sent into Britanny; and after several bloody skirmishes, which occupied a considerable portion of 1197, the insurrection was suppressed, and Britanny acknowledged the sway of the King of England. Arthur was allowed to remain under the care of Constance; but she did not escape without a severe rebuke. We do not find that any severities were exercised in the revolted parts of the province; but it is probable that the presence of Merchades and his Brabançois was punishment enough.

Hitherto the King of England had resisted the whole power of France, without any allies to give him aid, while Philip endeavoured to raise Richard's own vassals against him, and in many instances had been but too successful in corrupting those who ought to have drawn the sword for their sovereign.

Amongst these, we find the Count of Perigueux, the Viscount of Touraine, the Lord of Gournay, and several others. It now became evident to Richard that he must employ the same means in opposition to the King of France which Philip had employed so successfully against himself; and a series of negotiations were set on foot, which soon changed the whole aspect of the contest. One of the first to be gained was the Count of St. Giles and Toulouse, upon whom Richard bestowed the hand of his sister, the widowed queen of Sicily. The next was Baldwin, the young Count of Flanders, who had very lately done homage to Philip for the portion of territory which that monarch had been pleased to leave him. There can be no doubt, however, that after the death of his predecessor in the Holy Land, the French king had stripped the Count of Flanders of as much as he could venture to take with any degree of prudence. An immense number of the nobility of the Low Countries joined Baldwin in a treaty of alliance with the English king; and the Count of Dammartin and Boulogne signed a separate treaty nearly in the same terms. Henry Count of Champagne and King of Jerusalem had lately died in the Holy Land, and had been succeeded in the French county by his brother, Thibalt, likewise a nephew of the King of England, and this prince was easily induced to look favourably upon the cause of his gallant uncle. The war was thus recommenced in circumstances much more favourable to the

English monarch. Baldwin of Flanders advanced into Artois at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Arras; the Count of Boulogne, accompanied by a large force of Brabançois, ravaged the French territory in another quarter; and when Philip advanced to the relief of Arras, Baldwin skilfully retreated before him, drawing him on farther and farther from his resources, with the Count of Boulogne on his left flank, and Richard in his rear. The bridges were broken down behind the French army, as it advanced; and the king at length became so entangled, that he was glad to purchase permission to retreat by the resignation of all that part of Flanders of which he had unjustly possessed himself.

It would seem that Richard was included in the truce which followed; and we do not find any farther hostilities mentioned till the year 1198. No sooner had the suspension of arms terminated, than all parties appeared in the field. But Richard now found the advantage of allying policy to valour; and, had he lived to profit by this experience, the fate of all Europe might have been changed.

The Kings of England, in regard to their continental territories, were in a much less favourable position than the Kings of France. So long as Normandy had regarded the neighbouring island as a mere acquisition annexed to itself—so long as the royal crown of England could be looked upon as a dependency of the Norman coronet, the people of

the duchy, however turbulent as vassals, were proud of their victorious princes, and ready to support them against any monarch of that Frankish race from which their ancestors had wrested the fair lands they held on either bank of the Seine. But when Normandy became a detached province of England, when its dukes learned to regard their hereditary dukedom as subsidiary to their acquired crown, the case was very much changed. The ties between the Norman vassals and an adjacent kingdom with an ill-defined frontier, gained strength; their attachment to their Duke, who, though king of another country, owned a superior lord as to Normandy, was diminished; and an approximation to France took place, which was every day encouraged by the cunning policy of Philip Augustus. To him and to his court the vassals of the Duke of Normandy could always appeal, in case of dispute with their immediate sovereign; and while the hard rule with which he governed in his own direct dependencies was not felt or known by the population of the duchy, he was always ready to sympathize if he could not relieve, to encourage if he could not protect, in any instance of discontent or hardship. If such was the case with Normandy, it was still worse with the other continental possessions of the English crown. Touraine, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Aquitaine, had not even the satisfaction of a glorious memory to compensate for the sense of dependence. They had fallen by marriage or succession into the state

of provinces of England. They were neither Norman nor English, but essentially French, in habit, feeling, character, and antecedents. Neither the Saxon, nor the Northman, nor the mingled race had aught in common with them; and there were natural links of affection between them and a king of their own race, who, as far as they were concerned, was the sovereign of their sovereign.

It was only by taking advantage of the discontent, by exciting the hopes, by flattering the ambition, or by engaging the interests of Philip's immediate vassals, that the English monarch could counterbalance the influence which a king of France possessed in the continental dominions of the house of Plantagenet; and Richard, in the last few years of his life, became aware that such was the case, and acted upon the conviction. Philip's rule was hard, beyond all doubt, but even if it had not been so, there would always have been found causes of discontent between sovereign and feudatory, which could be improved by one who might be supposed to sympathize with Philip's barons as a fellow vassal, while he could afford them countenance and support as an independent monarch. Thus in 1197 and 1198 we find an immense number of French noblemen, more or less directly favouring the English king. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, again marched into France in the latter year, and approached St. Omer. But Philip did not venture to withdraw so far from the scene of other events which were preparing on the side of Normandy.

Richard was already in the field; and the war commenced with some skirmishes and incursions of no great importance. Under the last treaty, Philip, as I have shown, had obtained possession of Vernon on the Seine; and from that place he advanced some way into Normandy. He was speedily encountered by Richard, and forced to retire with loss upon Vernon, whence he was again driven back upon Mantes. Richard then crossed the Seine, and advanced with rapid marches upon Gisors, after having taken a fortress named Courcelles. The danger of so important a town as Gisors called Philip at once to its relief. Richard had apparently crossed the Seine at or near Bonnieres; and the French monarch passed by the bridge at Mantes. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Gisors, in an open plain on the banks of the Epte. The French assert that Philip's forces were greatly inferior to those of his adversary; but it appears certain that the two armies were as nearly equal as possible; and the terms in which Philip's historians bemoan his defeat, show that the battle was in reality a decisive engagement, and not a mere skirmish, as they would represent it. The combat was long and obstinate; but it was at length decided by a fierce and impetuous charge, headed by the King of England in person. Here again his gigantic strength, his skill in arms, and his headlong courage, carried all before them. Knight after knight fell by his hand; confusion and

disarray spread through the French ranks; and Philip, with his whole forces, except those who remained dead or prisoners on the field, fled in confusion towards a bridge over the Epte. So great was the throng upon the frail structure, at the moment when the king was passing, that it gave way beneath the weight, and Philip, with an immense number of nobles, knights, and soldiers, was precipitated into the stream. Thirty men of distinction are said to have perished in the water; but the king was rescued by the gallant devotion of some of his attendants. The fall of the bridge probably saved the king from capture; but it cut off all means of escape from many of his followers; and a hundred and fifty men of knightly rank were made prisoners.* How many of the inferior soldiers were taken we do not know; but the English historians say an immense number, and Rigordus, after naming four distinguished officers of the king, Alain de Roussy, Matthew de Marle, William de Melot the Younger, and Philip de Nanteuil, as amongst the captives, adds, "and many others whose names I cannot write, for my soul is too much moved by the remembrance."

Richard immediately sent an account of his vic-

* The French acknowledge the capture of ninety noblemen and knights. They attribute the defeat of their king, not to the prowess of Richard, but to the fact of Philip having some time before permitted the Jews to return to Paris, for which they say this disaster was a special punishment.

tory to London, and then pursued his course into France, sweeping the country of its wealth and produce, and penetrating even into the Beauvoisis.

"So elated was he with this success," says William the Breton, "that he already began to portion out Paris amongst his knights." His advanced guard, under Merchades, approached the gates of Beauvais, and made a demonstration of investing that city; but the warlike bishop, he who had fought in the Holy Land, and who had ventured, in spite of all opposition, to celebrate the indecent marriage of Conrad of Montferrat with Isabella, now issued forth with William de Melot the Elder, and gave battle to the Brabançois. Fortune, however, which had often favoured the bishop, now deserted him; and he and his companion, with many other knights and gentlemen, were made prisoners and carried before Richard.

All the noble captives, except the prelate, were treated with courtesy and kindness by the king. The bishop he cast into prison, and loaded with chains. This severity was in some degree excusable, for the homicidal priest had been Richard's most persevering and unscrupulous enemy. He had opposed, traduced, and thwarted him in the Holy Land; and, after his capture in Austria, had laboured more diligently than any one to keep him in prison. Richard even declared that he had been loaded with more chains than an ass could carry, entirely at the instigation of the Bishop of Beauvais; and it was

generally supposed that to his counsels might be attributed the persevering enmity which his relation Philip had displayed towards the King of England. His ransom was fixed at a very large sum; and the bishop, highly indignant, applied to his brother prelates to interfere. None of them, however, would undertake to advocate his cause, except one bound to him by the ties of blood. He then addressed himself to the pope, endeavouring to stir up the pontiff's wrath against Richard, for his severity to a priest. The sovereign pontiff replied, that all he could do, in the circumstances in which the bishop had been taken, was to seek Richard's lenity for the captive, as a matter of favour; for though it was considered not only justifiable, but praiseworthy, in a prelate to take arms for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, it was looked upon as a crime to use those arms against his fellow Christians. Nor did the pope fail to perform his promise; but in his letter of intercession he unfortunately called the prisoner "*his son*, the Bishop of Beauvais." Richard immediately sent back the hauberk in which the prelate had been taken, begging to know if his holiness recognised *his son's coat*. This rejoinder stopped all further application. The pontiff replied that the garment was certainly not that of a son of the church, but of a son of Mars; and the bishop remained in prison till after Richard's death.

Philip in the meantime had neither ventured to follow his adversary into Beauvoisis, nor to march

to the relief of St. Omer, which surrendered to the Count of Flanders; but gathering together the remains of his army, and raising some fresh troops, he entered Normandy and penetrated as far as Neubourg and Beaumont le Roger. In this incursion he met with little or no opposition; but suddenly, and upon motives which puzzled his historians greatly, he disbanded his troops and left the field open to the enemy.

In the life of Philip there are many passages which must probably ever remain dark and unexplained; and it would seem he was subject to rare but strongly marked fits of hypochondriac melancholy, which chequered his usually clear, decided, and politic course with occasional inconsistency. It has been supposed that his conduct, on this occasion, proceeded from a knowledge that Peter of Capua, Cardinal of St. Mary, was on his way to France, as legate from Innocent III. (who had lately succeeded Celestine in the papal chair), in the hope of bringing about a lasting peace. But this affords no just explanation of the monarch's sudden abandonment of resistance; for Philip was too politic not to know that in negotiation more is granted to strength than to intercession.

The cardinal arrived in France about Christmas, and immediately proceeded to perform his pious office. Negotiations were commenced under his auspices, conferences were held; and at length, after many difficulties, a truce for five years was signed

by the two kings. Richard met Philip in amity; for his resentments were rarely long-lived; but Philip did not forgive so easily, and he is said to have secretly informed the King of England, that his brother John had once more been plotting against him. He even, we are assured, displayed documents which convinced Richard that such was the case; and the English monarch's conduct was in consequence so completely changed towards the Count of Montagne, that John demanded an explanation. It was given frankly; and the prince appealed to the whole course of his actions, since his reconciliation with his brother, for the refutation of the calumny. He did more; he gave Philip publicly the lie, and sent to dare him to prove his assertion in the lists. But the King of France returned no answer, and Richard, convinced, perhaps without sufficient proof, that his brother had been traduced, extended his favour to him more frankly than ever.

I have thought fit, in tracing the course of Richard's military movements, after his deliverance from captivity, to abstain, as far as possible, from introducing any of those isolated events and collateral circumstances, which more or less affected his history, but were not actually connected with his operations in the field. Some of the principal of these events I propose to mention in the succeeding book, before the scene closes upon the hero of the twelfth century.

BOOK XXIV.

SINCE his return from the Holy Land, Richard had only spent a few weeks in England; for the state of his continental possessions required his constant attention and personal superintendence, and in the justiciary, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had a friend and minister to whom he could entrust with perfect security, both the general government of the country, and any military operations which circumstances might render necessary. Before the conclusion of the truce of five years, brought about by the mediation of the Cardinal of St. Mary's, a number of events had occurred in Europe, which altered Richard's position towards several other princes.

Pope Celestine, his constant friend, had died in 1198, at the age of ninety, after seeing the commencement of a new crusade, undertaken by an immense body of German princes. Both Richard and Philip had been urged to join in this enterprise; but Philip had no inclination to visit Palestine again;

and the king of England, whatever were his inclinations, was deterred by a remembrance of the disastrous events which had occurred in his European possessions during his first expedition to Syria.

The Emperor Henry assumed the cross; but before he set out, he paused to take possession of another kingdom, and to oppress a woman and a child. Tancred, king of Sicily, an asurper it is true, but one who had gained the affection and commanded the respect of his people,* died in the year 1194, leaving a widow, and a son in extreme youth. The heiress of the direct Norman line of Roger, the conqueror of Sicily, was Constantia, the wife of the Emperor Henry. Her claims had been frequently put forward, but without success, during the reign of Tancred; and the moment that prince had ceased to exist, the emperor hastened to seize upon the now defenceless kingdom.

Without a leader, the Normans of Italy and Sicily made little, if any resistance. Henry's march from Capua to Palermo was a triumphal procession; and the widow and child of the last Norman prince

* I cannot concur in the high eulogium pronounced upon this prince by Gibbon upon interested and partisan authority. For individual facts we are obliged, in the absence of public documents, to depend upon contemporary chroniclers; but in the estimation of character, the general course and result of each man's actions, are surer guides than the pens of flatterers or satirists. Judging from these, we cannot look upon Tancred as a very wise, a very just, or a very honest prince.

fell into the hands of the conqueror. The Emperor basely misused his advantage, deprived the unfortunate boy of sight and manhood, and then prepared to expiate offences disgraceful to a knight, a Christian, and a man, by prosecuting the war against the infidels of Syria.

The terms of the treaty between Saladin and Richard had been faithfully observed by Henry of Champagne, notwithstanding the death of Saladin and the civil broils of his successors. The pope and the princes of Christian Europe, however, did not consider themselves bound by the engagements of the King of England. A new crusade was preached by Celestine, which was successful, at least in Germany. Four bishops, three dukes, and an immense number of the inferior nobility took the cross in 1196; and a large body of crusaders set out under the command of the Archbishop of Mayence. Henry himself proposed to follow immediately, and the success which attended the arms of those who preceded him probably confirmed his resolution. From Messina he wrote to Richard, entreating him to lend his aid in the good work, which now, for the first time, promised complete success; but Richard declined the dangerous allurement, and the progress of Henry himself was stopped by the hand of death. He was taken ill at Messina, some say, without any good authority, from the effects of poison administered by his wife Constantia. He died, it would appear, with decent remorse for

the many iniquitous acts he had committed during his life. On his death-bed, moved by the remonstrances of the bishops and the threats of the church, he sent, we are assured, to offer the King of England compensation, either in money or land, for the ransom he had exacted from him; but before the message could be delivered, the rapid progress of his disease carried the emperor to the grave. His son Frederick succeeded to the throne of Sicily, though destined to a higher fate at an after period; and his brother Philip came forward as a candidate for the imperial crown.

A formidable competitor, however, appeared in the person of Otho of Saxony, nephew of the King of England; and the pope espoused the cause of the latter, while Richard eagerly endeavoured to promote his election. It does not enter into the scope of this work to notice the intrigues and the struggles that followed. Suffice it to say that, notwithstanding a treaty entered into by Philip with the King of France, Otho obtained and preserved the imperial crown. A party of the electors indeed still adhered to Philip; but the sanction of the church confirmed the dignity of Otho.

Richard was invited to the election, as nominal King of Provence; but he declined the empty honour, although greatly interested in his nephew's success. Indeed, Otho and Henry of Champagne had ever been objects of his especial tenderness and care; and after seeing the latter elected King of

Jerusalem, he strove by every means to compensate the former for the evils which fortune had inflicted upon him. Soon after his return to Europe, he had endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between the Saxon prince and the eldest daughter of William, King of Scotland, in the hope that, as the monarch had at that time no son, the Scottish crown might descend upon the head of his nephew. Frustrated in this expectation by the opposition of William's nobility, Richard granted large estates in Poitou to Otho, who retained them till his elevation to the imperial dignity; and Richard had the satisfaction of seeing him placed at the highest point of success. The election of Otho, his near relationship to Richard, and his devoted affection for that monarch, the favour which the Holy See extended to both, and the indignation with which the pope regarded Philip's divorce of Ingeburga and his marriage with Agnes de Meranie, might have produced, had the life of Richard been prolonged, events which would have changed the whole political state of Europe.

The papal wrath in the case of Philip was not altogether unjustifiable. He had sought and obtained, as I have shown, the hand of the Princess of Denmark, and on the very day after his marriage, had, from some unexplained caprice, cast her off, and, by the authority of several of his bishops, divorced her on the most frivolous pretences.* The Holy

* It has been stated lately that Philip added to this ill treatment, the insult of sending Ingeburga back to Denmark at

See had always maintained, that marriage, which it regarded as a sacrament, could only be dissolved by the supreme head of the church; and it was immediately notified to the King of France that the pontiff would not recognise the authority assumed by the French prelates. Philip, setting at nought this warning, proceeded without the papal sanction to solemnise his marriage with the beautiful, amiable, and unfortunate Agnes de Meranie, offering an insult to the spiritual authority of the pope which was never forgiven.

Richard himself had been always a favourite son of the church; for it would seem that his character had been understood and appreciated. The corruption, avarice, and ambition of the clergy and the monks, a man so clear-sighted could not fail to see; and his sarcastic spirit never hesitated to lash the vices he despised; but where the church raised her voice or employed her power in spiritual affairs, or even went a little beyond the limits of her just sphere to promote objects harmonious with her character and her office, few persons were more obedient or reverential than the King of England. No one, in short, made a broader distinction between the vices of the clergy and the authority of the church; and Richard listened on

once. This is a very great error. She remained for many years in France by her own desire, as is especially pointed out by contemporary historians who had the best means of knowing the facts, and was afterwards nominally reunited to Philip.

many occasions with calmness and favour to the reproof of ecclesiastics whom he believed to be sincere, when his fiery spirit would have been moved to the highest pitch of fury by the remonstrance of any of the laity. Thus, when visited in Normandy by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who had refused in any degree to aid in levying the taxes in his diocese, the king heard his expostulations, both in regard to the burdens he was laying on his people, and to some acts of licentiousness of which he was accused, with perfect patience and good-will.

From the exactions which were rendered necessary by the wars in which he was plunged, the clergy were not exempt; but we find from the account of Jocelin of Brakelond, that the dignitaries of the church and the superiors of the monastic foundations often endeavoured to avoid rendering those feudal services or contributing that pecuniary aid to which they were bound by the tenure of their estates. But Richard was usually just towards the clergy and observant of his promises, which is shown by the restitution, after he regained his freedom, of all the plate and jewels which had been borrowed from churches and monasteries to supply funds for his ransom. Nevertheless the clergy often murmured at having to bear their share in the public burdens of the country; and indeed the taxation was exceedingly onerous. It is impossible to ascertain exactly what amount of money was levied in England after Richard's re-

turn from Syria; but we are assured that the Archbishop Justiciary alone raised, at different times, the sum of one million one hundred thousand marks, an enormous sum, considering the value of money in those days and the scantiness of the population.

If the clergy murmured and raised their voice in expostulation with the king, others showed their sense of the grievance in a more violent manner. The burden pressed but very little upon the lower classes, except by impoverishing the higher; but famine and pestilence aggravated their miseries, and a starving population is always ready to take arms in the hope of bettering a condition which can hardly be worse. Two excessively tempestuous seasons, as I have shown before, had destroyed the crops, both in England and France; and multitudes of persons in both countries died of hunger. An epidemic disease followed; and though we do not know how many victims it carried off, it was clearly very fatal, and so general, in England at least, that the number who remained in health were not sufficient to attend upon the sick, and many perished without common assistance or the consolations of religion.

Still the wars continued, and still the supplies had to be wrung from the people. The nobles bore their share of the evil without resistance and with very little complaint. War was their trade and had its advantages. The clergy cried out, but in general

submitted. The towns debated, and paid. These were the parties principally interested; but there suddenly arose one whom nature had qualified in various ways for a demagogue, and who sought distinction by assuming the character of a defender of the people. His name was William Fitz Osbert, evidently a Norman patronymic; but yet, it would appear, he professed to be descended from the old Saxon race, and, whether true or false, such an assumption was sure to obtain for him the favour of the lower classes, principally composed of Saxons. This man was a citizen of London; and after having in vain endeavoured to induce the corporation to resist the king's exactions, he appealed to the mob, few of whom were in reality called upon to pay anything. He harangued them in inflammatory language, and soon raised a tumult, which disturbed the peace and threatened the safety of the city. He was known to be a man of loose life and ruined fortunes; but he combined many qualities which attract the multitude. He was learned, eloquent, and daring, with that touch of eccentricity, natural or affected, which gains the wonder and admiration of the vulgar. He affected the dress, as well as the manners, of the ancient Saxons, and in direct opposition to the customs of the Norman nobility, suffered the hair on his face to grow untrimmed, by which he acquired the name of Longbeard. The richer and more peaceful citizens went in terror of their lives; and many excesses were committed,

which, for some time, no power was found to stop. The justiciary summoned the offender to his presence; and Longbeard did not refuse to appear; but he went attended by so fierce and numerous a crowd, that he was suffered to depart unpunished, and almost unquestioned. Hubert, though bold and resolute, was now becoming somewhat inactive and infirm. In age, however, policy often supplies the place of vigour; and the archbishop suffered the turbulence of Fitz Osbert to go on, till it became intolerable to the better class of citizens, and tedious to his own followers. Unopposed, the flame of enthusiasm grew faint; the mobs which attended the demagogue dwindled away; and, choosing his moment well, apparently in concert with the well-disposed members of the corporation, the justiciary sent a body of armed men to apprehend the disturber of the public peace. Fitz Osbert defended himself with bravery and resolution; but he found few supporters in the hour of danger; and, after having killed one of his assailants, he made his escape into the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, with his mistress and several of his accomplices, hoping there to find sanctuary. In this expectation, however, he was deceived. The soldiers, and the citizens who joined them, attacked the church, which was fired, either by accident or design; and, obliged to descend from the tower, in which he had taken refuge, the demagogue was dragged out, tried, condemned, and executed. Several of the ringleaders of the mobs which he had

gathered together were put to death with him; but the people revered his memory as of a saint and a martyr, and it was pretended that miracles were worked by pieces of the gallows on which he had been hanged at Tyburn.

The firm and vigorous rule of the Archbishop of Canterbury, maintained general peace in the land for several years; but he was troubled by disputes with Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the king's illegitimate brother, regarding ecclesiastical rights and privileges, which had no permanent effect, and do not require further notice here. Hubert felt sensibly the responsibilities of his great office, and as infirmities increased upon him, besought the king to relieve him from the burden. But Richard gave honourable testimony to his integrity and wisdom, saying that he could not find a man honest and prudent enough to supply his place. The monarch sent for him to Normandy also, and conferred with him long in regard to various enactments for the benefit of the people. Edicts were promulgated for regulating weights and measures according to one uniform standard. Much was done to encourage the manufacture of woollen cloth, and to guard purchasers against fraud. The coin was also regulated, and ordered to be of exactly the same weight and fineness; and keeping a wary eye upon the Jews, who were at that time the great usurers of Europe, Richard enacted that all compacts between Christians and Israelites, with the exact stipulations,

should be put in writing. Two copies of the contract were then to be made, one for each party, and the original was to be deposited in a public repository.

All these measures, it would seem, were decided upon in Richard's conference with the archbishop; but very shortly after the election of Innocent III. to the papal throne, the sovereign pontiff required Hubert to resign the office of justiciary, alleging justly that its retention was incompatible with due attention to his ecclesiastical duties. The archbishop submitted at once; and Richard, yielding a reluctant consent, appointed to the vacant office Geoffrey Fitz Pierre, whose severities and exactions gave the people cause to regret the firm but mild rule of the archbishop.

Geoffrey was a vigorous governor, however, and a good soldier; and he succeeded, before the king's death, in suppressing a somewhat dangerous insurrection in Wales.

Such is a brief sketch of some of the detached events which took place before the signature of the truce of five years. Everything promised that the truce would be well observed on the part of Philip, whose situation had become extremely dangerous and difficult, from the disaffection of his vassals, the enmity of the pope, and the election of Otho to the imperial dignity. His malignant conduct towards John indeed showed a thirst for revenge; but it would have been dangerous in the extreme

to renew the war with a prince of such power, courage, and skill as Richard, while France was surrounded and divided by so many foreign and domestic enemies. John's defiance passed away unnoticed; and the restoration of the Earldom of Gloucester and the county of Mortagne, with a pension of eight thousand pounds per annum, proved to Richard's brother that he had regained the confidence and affection of his sovereign.

There is every reason to believe that it was Richard's intention to visit England early in 1199; and his presence in that country might have been greatly beneficial; for in his conduct at this time many signs are to be found of the good effects of age and experience. Although he had lost none of the frank openness which distinguished him, although he preserved all his activity, his energy, and his daring, he had learned in some degree at least to curb his temper, and moderate his passions, and had acquired wider views of policy, and a better notion of the duties of a king.

Early in that year (1199), however, an event occurred, in regard to which historians give very different accounts. Intelligence reached the ears of the king, that a great treasure, consisting of gold and jewels, had been found in the viscounty of Limoges, one of the most refractory and turbulent possessions of the English crown. There would seem to be no doubt that the property in a treasure so found was with the sovereign lord of

the soil, and Richard's officers demanded it immediately as a waif of the crown. It is not certain that Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, had actually found this treasure; but it is quite clear that he had possessed himself of it;* and he refused to give up more than a small part.

Enraged at this violation of his rights and contempt of his authority, Richard put himself at the head of his Brabançois, and marched at once into the Limousin. The castle of Chalus, a small place incapable of long defence, was pointed out as that in which the treasure was concealed; and it was soon surrounded by the forces of Richard, who rode round the fortifications within bow-shot of the walls, accompanied by his celebrated officer, Merchades. It would seem that he dismounted from his horse in order to examine more particularly some portion of the works; and as he thus stood completely exposed to the troops within the castle, he received the quarrel of a cross-bow in his left shoulder. It is said that before this event, the garrison had offered to surrender the place, if the king would allow them to march out with their arms, and that Richard declared he would make no terms with thieves, but would

* We are told by some writers, that the treasure was found by a peasant ploughing in a field, who immediately informed his lord, named Achard, to whom the castle of Chalus belonged; but I put no faith in this statement, which comes from a very doubtful authority.

take the castle and hang them from the walls. It is also said that great progress had been made in reducing the fortress; but these statements rest upon no authority of great weight, and I am inclined to refuse them credence, as it would appear from the statements of the French chronicles that Richard arrived before Chalus very late in March, and he certainly received his wound not later than the twenty-eighth of that month, some indeed say on the twenty-sixth, which would appear to have been the morning after the siege commenced.*

* Almost every French historian, contemporary or subsequent, places the commencement of the siege of Chalus in Passion Week. It may be said that this must be erroneous, for Easter day in that year fell on the 18th of April, and Richard, the English historians assure us, died on the 6th of April, or five days before the commencement of Passion Week. But are the English historians more to be trusted in regard to dates than the French? It might be presumed they are in regard to events affecting the life of their own monarch. But on the other hand, their statements are so contradictory as to show that there was a darkness and a mystery, even at the period of Richard's death, in regard to the event and the circumstances by which it was accompanied, which raise very strange suspicions. Thus Hoveden calls the man who killed the king, Bertram de Gourdun; Diceto, Peter Basil; Gervase, John Sabraz. The cause of the extraordinary change in Richard's disposition of the crown is also unexplained. I have shown that when on his way to the Holy Land, he anxiously laboured to secure the succession to Arthur, the legitimate heir; and that he depended upon the noble King of Scots to support and counsel the youthful prince. To say that he now thought Arthur too young for the great task is ridiculous, and no explanation of the change:

The king paused for a few moments, remounted his horse, and returned to his tent, feeling himself more seriously hurt than he had at first supposed. The quarrel was still in the wound; but Richard ordered the attack to be at once begun, and would not suffer the injury he had received to be examined till his commands were obeyed. Stretched upon a couch, he lay listening to that din of war which was music to his ear, but which he was never destined to hear again; and at length the news was brought, that the castle was taken and every one found in it put to death, with the exception of the man who had discharged the bolt from which he suffered. Then Richard allowed the surgeon of Merchades' band to examine the wound he had received. In attempting to extract the

Richard, when going to Palestine, looked forward to his own probable death in the wars he was undertaking; he made no change in that disposition when he was lying ill at Acre of a fever which swept thousands away around him, and Arthur was then many years younger. He did not change the disposition when ill at Jaffa, with the prospect of a dangerous journey before him, and a knowledge that John was labouring to snatch the crown, and Philip eager to strip him of his continental dominions. It is ridiculous, therefore, to assert that the change was produced by a sense of the difficulties which would attend the rule of a minor. Philip was now bound by a treaty concluded under the mediation of the Holy See. John, frustrated in all his intrigues, had learned a lesson not easily to be forgotten. England was in profound peace and submission. Normandy, Poitou, Guyenne, Touraine, were all loyal. Britanny was ready to support her prince. The barons of the whole empire looked to Arthur

quarrel, the surgeon separated the wood from the iron, which was often barbed and triangular. He was then obliged to have recourse to the knife in order to remove the head of the weapon; and a wound not in itself mortal was aggravated by accident or want of skill. Mortification ensued; and Richard soon felt that death was approaching. The lion heart quailed not even at the sight of the last enemy. If we may believe the accounts we have received, Richard met the coming fate with the same calm firmness with which he had encountered Saladin at Assur, or repelled the Saracen host upon the beach at Jaffa.

At some period, after he became conscious that

with hope; the common people had a superstitious veneration for his name; and the crown and the coronet were more secure to him to whom Richard had originally left them, than at any other period since the king's accession. Nothing could shake Arthur's title or prevent his succession, but the act of Richard himself in naming John for his successor. Did he really so name him? I do not know; but I much doubt. We are told that Richard, on his death-bed, commanded all the nobles present to swear fealty to John in his presence. We do not know who these nobles were. We only hear of Merchades, the captain of mercenaries, who had waged war against Constance in Brittany; and Merchades was, within the month, in arms for John in Guyenne. Might not fear, enmity, and avarice, in the mind of such a man, lead to the fabrication of a will, and the concealment of facts? Certain it is, that those who most closely watched the events of the times in which they lived, were ignorant of the facts connected with Richard's death and John's accession.

his last hour was at hand, though we know not on what day, he ordered Bertram de Gourdun (for such was probably the name of the man who slew him) to be brought before him. The young man presented himself with a bold air; and the king demanded, what he had ever done to him, that he should deliberately have sought to take his life.

"You slew my father and my two brothers," the cross-bowman is reported to have answered—"and you would have slain me likewise. Torture me as you will, I shall die content, if I have killed one who has inflicted so many miseries on mankind."

"Take off his chains," said Richard, ever sensible of magnanimity, "and let him go unharmed, but not empty handed. Give him a hundred shillings in his purse."

The man was removed; but, in direct violation of the king's dying command, was detained in prison, and after Richard's death was flayed alive, we are assured, by order of Merchades.

Richard then proceeded to make his last dispositions. We only know what they are asserted to have been. According to the statement put forth after his death, he left all his dominions to his brother John, though the archbishop did not venture to mention the will at John's coronation.* He caused all who were present to swear fealty to his brother, though there were few, if any, in the tent

* Hubert, in the succeeding reign, sadly lost himself, and forfeited that high character which he had hitherto maintained.

who owned allegiance to a King of England; and he bequeathed to that prince three quarters of his treasure, which John took care to secure by seizing the whole in the castle of Chinon. The rest he left to charitable and religious purposes; and his jewels he assigned to his nephew, the Emperor Otho. Arthur was never mentioned. His body he ordered to be conveyed to Fontevraud, and laid at his father's feet, perhaps in token of penitence for the offences he had committed against his parent in early life: his heart he directed to be buried in Rouen. He sought the consolations of the church in his last hour, confessed his offences, asked and received absolution, and, calm and firm to the last, expired on the sixth of April, in the tenth year of his reign and the forty-second of his age. John, Arthur, Eleanor, Berengaria* were afar; and thus, surrounded by mercenary troopers, died Richard Cœur de Lion, before a petty castle, by the hand of a common soldier.

The character of Richard is written in the preceding pages. I have not attempted to extenuate one fault or to exaggerate one virtue; nor have I even ventured to dwell upon the difference between the age in which he lived and that in which I write. Yet the difference is worthy of the reader's consideration; for, although the lapse of more than six hundred

* Berengaria survived her husband some years, and received from John, as her dowry, the town and territory of Bayeux, two castles in Anjou, and a pension of a thousand marks, Eleanor died in 1204.

years has put a bar between the mind of the present and the mind of the past, which does not suffer us to read and examine unbiassed the prejudices, the passions, the customs, the habits of thought of that epoch, yet the very knowledge that they were all different from our own, and that Richard acted under their influence, will account for many actions, palliate many errors, and teach us to pause ere we condemn, even where we cannot excuse. That he was frank, generous, forgiving, cannot be denied. That he was always just, I must not assert, though a general sense of rectitude is apparent throughout his life. He must not be accused of oppressing his people. His wars were either forced upon him, or the result of an epidemic frenzy, which affected not only all monarchs, but all nations; and no one has charged him with lavishing the supplies which he exacted upon his own pleasures. One dark and ineffaceable spot stains his memory—the slaughter of the garrison of Acre. Yet there was great provocation, but no excuse. He was fierce, passionate, impetuous; brave, honest, magnanimous. He had fortitude as well as courage, coolness as well as daring, skill as well as valour. He had no mean vices; he had many high qualities; and the worst that the bitterest and most venomous of his traducers, *except one*, could say of him after his death, was this: "Of all the kings who ever swayed the sceptre of England, none would have been better than Richard, if he had but preserved his fealty to

that king to whom the laws required him to submit (Philip), and had feared the King of all."*

* William the Breton. The exception which I make above is in favour of Mr. Berington. He outdid any one, modern or ancient, in the endeavour to defame a dead man. His summary of the character of Richard would be simply ludicrous, were not his malignity so apparent as to mingle other feelings with the sense of ridicule. His work, written with a feeble imitation of the grandiloquent style of Gibbon, is full of errors of fact, perversions, and concealments of the truth. His account of Richard's last days is not only absurd, but self-contradictory. He makes the king, wounded at the door of his tent, mount his horse, to ride to his quarters; and in the course of his narrative, a thousand similar errors might be pointed out.

William the Breton, on whose poem modern French authors have not scrupled to rely, defamed Richard living, and used the licence of his craft to make a thousand assertions incompatible with known facts; but he admitted the monarch's merits when he was dead. He makes Atropos abuse Richard very severely to her sister Fates; and he represents the King of England as being frequently defeated by his own master, Philip; but he admits his virtues when death has closed the scene, and then calls the often-defeated king *Invincible*.

THE END.

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Earl of Leicester, 47; turns his arms against the rebels of the midland counties, 73; retires to a convent, 174.
Derby, Earl of, gives up Tutbury and Duffield to Henry, ii. 92.
Dermot, King of Leinster, applies to Henry for aid against O'Ruark, i. 371; obtains assistance, 372; takes the city of Wexford, *ib.*
Diafer Billah, Khalif of Egypt, assents to the assassination of the Vizier Adel—is himself murdered, iii. 96.
Dijon, conference at, i. 184.
Duke of Austria, breaks his leg at a tournament—dies—his death-bed atonement, 377.
Durham, Bishop of, justifies himself before Henry at Northampton, ii. 92; appointed a commissioner to execute the office of high justiciary, iii. 298.

Edessa, Countess of, passes from Turbessel to Antioch—surrenders Edessa to the Emperor Manuel, iii. 94.
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Ely, Bishop of, flies to the castle of Devizes, but surrenders, i. 60.
Emad-eddin, Prince of Moussoul, induces his brother to resign the principality of Aleppo in his favour, iii. 341; delivers up to Saladin the city of Aleppo, 348.
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Eugenius, Pope, takes up the cause of the crusaders against the Mahommedans, iii. 69.
Eustace, refuses to acknowledge the treaty between Stephen and Henry, i. 97; death of, 99.
Ezz-eddin Massoud, Emir of Moussoul, nominated as successor to Malek Saleh—resigns his pretensions in favour of his brother, iii. 341.

Falaise, treaty of—peace renewed between Henry and his sons, ii. 109.
Ferokhschah, encounters Baldwin near Damascus, and routs his forces, iii. 330.
Fitz-Stephen, his description of London, i. 33.
Flanders, Count of, makes preparations to invade Henry's dominions, i. 286; proposes to attack the city of Rouen during the truce—the King of France agrees, ii. 97; puts to death Walter des Fontaines, whom he had taken in adultery with his wife, 127; in the centre at the battle of Ascalon, iii. 39; left with a division of the army of

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Fou, Viscount du, takes prisoners the Viscount de Leon and his son Guiomarck—his brother and son imprisoned in the Castle of Daoulas, where they perish with hunger, i. 273.

Fougeres, taken by storm by Henry II., i. 276.

Fougeres, Viscount of, falls into the hands of Henry, ii. 39.

Framlingham, Earl of, capitulates to Henry II., ii. 91.

France, state of, under Louis VII., iii. 69.

Frederic Barbarossa, summons a council to decide between the double election of Orlando and Octavian, i. 166; favours the election of Octavian, *ib.*; routs the forces of Alexander at Tusculum, 305; arrives at Rome, and with his empress is crowned by the hands of Pascal, 307; marches against Alexandria, ii. 207; retreats from before Alexandria, 211; enters into a convention of peace with the Lombards, 212; marches to Como, 216; total rout of his army at Como, 219; his supposed death at the battle of Como, *ib.*; opens negotiations with the pope to effect his reconciliation with the church, 221; receives absolution, 223; takes the field against Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony—compels him to submit, iii. 168; takes arms at the exhortation of William of Tyre—detects and defeats the schemes of the Emperor Isaac, iv. 113; overthrows the vast host of the Sultan of Iconium—takes the city of Iconium, and reduces the Moslem powers to the north of Antioch to sue for peace, 114; dies, and his army disperses, 133.

Freysinghen, Bishop of, receives the command of one division of the forces of the Emperor Conrad of Germany, iii. 76.

Fulk Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, resigns his European dominions to his son Geoffrey, i. 46; marries Melesinda, daughter of Baldwin II., and ascends the throne of Jerusalem on the death of that sovereign, iii. 58; killed by a fall from his horse while pursuing a hare—succeeded by his son as Baldwin III., 59.

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Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I., i. 46; has three sons, 47; masters Rouen, 69; in possession of Normandy, 71; dies, 78.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, created Count of Nantes, i. 126; takes the castle of Kinairdsferie—joins the Archbishop of York, ii. 76; leads the forces of Britanny to the aid of Philip Augustus, iii. 172; does homage to his elder brother Henry, 178; takes up arms against Richard, iii. 185; ravages the territories of his father, Henry II., 189; attacks the church of St. Martial, 191; appears at the court of Henry II., and is reconciled to his father and brother, 201; dies in consequence of a fall from his horse, 219.

Geoffrey of Lusignan, murders one of the friends of Richard—is compelled to seek refuge in the Holy Land, iii. 234; taken prisoner by Saladin, 401.

Geoffrey, nominated by Richard to the archbishopric of York, iii. 267; is consecrated, 273; prohibited by

Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, from receiving consecration—assumes priest's orders at the hands of a Scotch bishop—refuses to recognise Richard's right to distribute church dignities in the see of York—is disseized by Richard—determines to assert his rights, 306; makes his entry into York, 307; confirmed in his consecration, 313.

Gisors, meeting at, between Henry and Louis, i. 257; the truce is prolonged, ii. 105.

Glanville, Ranulph de, resigns the office of high justiciary, iii. 297; arrested—liberated on paying a large fine, 299.

Gloucester, Earl of, taken prisoner, but exchanged for Stephen, i. 65; entreats the aid of Geoffrey, 67; hastens to the succour of his sister, 68; totally defeats Stephen at Wilton, 69; dies, 71.

Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine—his character, ii. 306; commences the crusade to the Holy Land, 307; his progress to the Holy Land—arrives at Hungary, 308; arrives tranquilly at Nissa and at Philippopoli, 311; hears that Hugh the Great is kept prisoner by the Greek monarch, 312; defeats the Greek army, 325; enters Constantinople, 329; leads his army towards Nicea, 344; commences the siege of Nicea, 345; renders the blockade of Nicea complete, 353; takes prisoners the wife and sons of the Sultan Soliman, *ib.*; his moderation on hearing of the conduct of Alexius, 356; his forces separate, 359; arrives to the succour of Boemond and Tancred, 364; charges and completely routs the Turks, 365; sufferings of his troops, 366; arrives at Antiochetta, 367; passage of his troops through Mount Taurus, 369; extent of his conquests, 373; arrives before Acre, 385; confined by illness to his bed—licentious conduct of his troops before Acre, 386; defeats the Turkish army with great slaughter, 391; surprising feat of, 391; marches at the head of his famished troops from Antioch to attack Kerboga, 410; superstition and successful enthusiasm of his troops, 417; return of the crusaders to the city, 419; determines to halt for a short time at Antioch, iii. 2; assists the Prince of Ezaz against the Emir Redouan, 4; leaves Antioch for Jerusalem, 10; joined by a number of Flemish pirates at Laodicea, 11; lays siege to Ghibel—raises the siege, and marches to the assistance of Boemond—his indignation on finding that he had been deceived, 11, 12; marches to Emaus, 16; at Emaus receives envoys from Bethlehem, requesting assistance—despatches Tancred with a hundred lances, 17; position of his camp and of the rest of the crusaders round Jerusalem, 22; removes his camp by night, and pitches it opposite the most unguarded point of the city, 24; commences the attack, 25; obtains an entrance, 27; elected King of Jerusalem, 36; declines the crown, and contents himself with the title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre," 37; advances to the attack of Afdal—routs a body of shepherds, reaches Ascalon, and gives battle to Afdal, 38; is taken ill, and dies, 40; Assizes de Jerusalem compiled by him, 41; dies childless, 43.

Gottschalk—continuous cruelty of his troops to the Jews, ii. 200; leads a large body of undisciplined rabble in pilgrimage to the Holy Land—their barbarity and cruelty in Hungaria—the King of Hungary marches against them—he covers the plains of Belgrade with bodies of their slain, 299; his troops massacre the Jews at Cologne and Mayence, 300; finds the town of Mersburg shut against his troops, 301; his troops attempt to force their admission into Mersburg, but are repulsed, *ib.*

Gregory VIII., succeeds to the papal throne, iii. 229.

Guy of Lusignan, murders the Earl of Salisbury, i. 283; marries Sybilla, the sister of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, iii. 335; named as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Baldwin, 353; flies to Ascalon, 361; crowned by the hand of his wife, 374; effects a reconciliation with the Count of Tripoli, 385; leads his army to the defence of Tiberiad against Saladin, 396; attacked by the Mahommedan troops, 397; encamps with his army at Marescallia—completely encircled by the Mahommedans, 398; his army prepares to cut their way through, *ib.*; taken prisoner by Saladin at the battle of Tiberiad, 401; set at liberty, iv. 104; betakes himself to Antioch and Tripoli—makes preparations for the siege of Acre, 107; defeats a portion of Saladin's troops — Saladin forces him back to the walls of Tyre, 117; attacks Saladin, and is defeated, 124—126; his claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem recognised, 176.

Hachachins, a branch of the Ismaelites—two of the tribe assassinate Conrad of Montferrat, iv. 244, 245; their singular habits, 247.

Hainault, Count of — the Count of Flanders wages war upon, iii. 209.

Hakim Bamrillah, Khalif, ascends the throne of Egypt—persecutes the Christians, ii. 262.

Haran, taken by Emad-eddin Zengui, iii. 61.

Harem, besieged by the Christian forces, iii. 320.

Haroun al Raschid, promises security to pilgrims to Jerusalem, ii. 260; presents the keys and standard of the city of Jerusalem to Charlemagne, 263.

Henry I., confines his brother Robert, i. 43; declares Matilda next in succession, 45; marries Matilda to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, 46; engaged his barons to take oaths of fealty to Matilda, 47.

Henry Plantagenet, son of Matilda, receives knighthood at the hands of the King of Scotland, i. 72; departs for Normandy, 73; receives Normandy from Louis, 77; inherits his father's possessions, 78; marries Eleanor, 80; forces Louis to sue for peace, 81; sails for England, 86; marches to the relief of Wallingford, 88; war resumed with Stephen, 98; departs for Normandy, 104; receives intelligence of the death of Stephen, 105; proceeds to England, and is crowned at Westminster with Eleanor, 107; settles the succession of the crown on his two sons, 109; enforces the resumption of crown lands, 111; marches to attack Mortimer, 113; renews the charter of Henry I., 115; applies to the pope to be released from his promise to his father, 118; meditates the conquest of Ireland, and the subjection of Wales, 119; claims the city of Nantes, 127; invited to Paris to receive the infant daughter of the French king, to educate as a bride for his son, 129; the most powerful monarch in Europe, 131; claims for his Queen Eleanor the county of Toulouse, 132; nature of his claim to the county of Toulouse, 140; crowned at Worcester, with his queen, a third time, 150; makes war upon the Count's territories, 153; carries the war into Beauvoisis, 156; treaty with Louis, 157; takes Chaumont, and restores it to Hugh of Amboise, 163; puts the Norman Vexin in a state of defence, 164; reasons why he should not have favoured Alexander, 171; his clergy favour Alexander, 173; marches to the relief of Louis, 187; nominates Thomas à Becket to the archbishopric of Canterbury, 189; summons Becket before a meeting of bishops at Westminster, 206; rendered furious at the conduct of the clergy at Clarendon, 213; determines to punish and annoy Becket, 230; demands that Becket should account for an alleged deficiency in the royal re-

venue, 234; confers with the bishops, who pronounce that Becket should be impeached for high treason, 241; permits a general appeal to the pope, 242; marches into Wales to quell the insurrection by Rees ap Gryffyth, 258; battle with the Welsh, 260; his barbarity, *ib.*; contracts his eldest daughter to the Duke of Saxony, 263; announces his determination to oppose Alexander, 264; his motives, 266; his cruelty to some wandering heretics, 268; acquires the Duchy of Britanny, 271; returns to France —subdues Maine, 275; takes the town of Fougeres, 276; decides between the two Counts of Auvergne, 279; takes Chaumont, and agrees to a truce with Louis, 280; takes the castles of Guiomark and de Leon, 281; ravishes the daughter of Eudes, 283; marches to the attack of Eudes, 284; drives the adherents of Becket out of the kingdom, 293; appeals to Alexander, 295; takes, and burns the castle of Lusignan, 309; ravages the lands of the Count of Ponthieu, 314; invades the territories of the Lords of Angoulême and La Marche, 320; forces Eudes to surrender, 322; sails for England, 323; arrives at Portsmouth, and calls a parliament at Windsor, 324; causes the coronation of his son to be performed by the Archbishop of York, 332; his reconciliation with Becket, 336; commands restoration to be made to Becket and his friends, 340; seized with a fit of illness—disposes of his territories by will, 341; recovers from his sickness, and performs a pilgrimage to the shrine of Notre Dame de Roque Madour, 342; delays to make restitution to Becket, 343; sends John of Oxford to accompany Becket to England, 347; despatches Richard de Humet into England to arrest Becket, 354; his horror on hearing of the murder of Becket, 364; commands that honour should be done to the remains of Becket, 365; returns to England, 368; permits Dermot to raise troops in England to assist him in carrying on the war against O'Ruark, 372; sails for Ireland—his successful progress, 376; leaves Ireland for Normandy — leaves Hugh de Lacy to maintain possession of Ireland, 378; appoints Rees ap Gryffyth justiciary of South Wales, 379; takes oath to perform various articles in order to obtain absolution from the pope, 380; sends the murderers of Becket to the pope, who enjoins them to go to the Holy Land and do penance, 384; refuses to put his son in possession of his demand, 387; arrives at Limoges, 395; proceeds with his son to Normandy—the latter flees to the court of the King of France, 396; strengthens his fortunes — detains his son's wife, Margaret, as hostage, 398; Geoffrey and Richard join their brother at the court of France, 399; his noblemen rise in arms against him, ii. 24; hires the Brabançois against his sons and Louis, 29; remains at Rouen, 31; hears of the pillage of Verneuil, and pursues the fugitive forces, 35; takes the castle of Dameville, 37; successful in England, 40; his proposals of peace with Louis, 44; nobles of Anjou in arms against him, 49; quells the revolt of Anjou, 50; embarks for England, 81; causes himself to be scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket, 82; passes the night at Canterbury Cathedral in prayers and penances, 84; receives intelligence of the capture of the King of Scotland by Ranulph de Glanville, 85; marches against Huntingdon, 90; takes the castle of Framlingham, 91; at Northampton receives the submission of his subjects, 92; appears with a large army before Rouen, 99; marches to attack his son Richard at Poitou, 105; exacts from the King of Scotland submis-

sion, 117; keeps Queen Eleanor in prison, 120; restores possession of their lands to the Earls of Leicester and Chester, 121; his eldest son does him homage, and swears allegiance, 123; holds a parliament at Gloucester—receives the homage of the Welch chieftains, 147; puts the forest laws into execution, 149; condemns four knights who had killed one of his foresters to be hanged, 153; effects a reconciliation between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, 156; confirms the constitutions of Clarendon, 161; divides the country into six circuits, 166; negotiates for his son John a marriage with Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, 176; decides between the Kings of Castille and Navarre, 178; directs his eldest son to assist Richard in the subjugation of the insurgents at Aquitaine, 189; collects a large army at Winchester in order to quell a revolt at Normandy, 227; requires of the King of France to send back the Princess Margaret into Normandy, 230; appeals to Alexander against the interdict, 233; departs from England—holds a conference with the French monarch at Ivry, 235; marches to La Chatre—the lord of that place gives up to Henry his daughter, 241; acquires the county of La Marche, 244; promises to aid the Count of Champagne in expelling the Count of Flanders from the counsels of Philip Augustus, iii. 162; holds a conference at St. Remi with Philip Augustus—they promise to succour the Christians at Jerusalem, 165; meets his son Henry, the King of France, and the Count of Flanders at Senlis—effects an arrangement, 174; commands his two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, to do homage to their elder brother, 178; enraged at Richard's refusing to do homage, 182; endeavours to prevent Geoffrey and Henry from making war against their brother Richard, 186; on his approach to Limoges, received with a flight of arrows, and refused admission into the town, 187; the younger Henry promises submission, 188; grants a pardon to the insurgents of Aquitaine at the intercession of his son, 190; sends his ring to his son Henry on his deathbed, in token of his forgiveness, 193; his affliction on hearing of the death of his son Henry, 198; after recovering from his grief, urges forward the siege of Limoges, 199; does homage to Philip Augustus for his continental dominions, 203; desires his son Richard to give up Aquitaine to his brother John—Richard refuses—the king orders Geoffrey and John to ravage their brother's territories, 205; summons his sons to Westminster, where he effects a reconciliation between them, 206; visited by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 211; commands his son Richard to yield Poitou into the hands of his mother, Eleanor, 213; acts as peacemaker between Philip and the Count of Flanders, 215; promises to conclude the union of Richard with Adelais, 216; confers with Philip at the ford of St. Remi—both monarchs part to prepare for war, 221; gives the command of his troops to his sons and the Earl of Albemarle, 223; the war suddenly stopped by messengers from the pope, *ib.*; hearing that Philip was about to ravage his transmarine territories, holds another intercourse with him, 231; gathers together the forces of Normandy and Anjou to encounter Philip, 240; summons Philip to restore the cities he had taken—marches towards Mantes to attack him, 241; takes a number of cities, 242; at the conference of Bon Moulin, refuses to suffer his barons to take the oath of fealty to Richard—Richard does homage to the King of France in his presence,

250; retires into Aquitaine—leaves Geoffrey in charge of Anjou, 251; passes the winter at Saumur—many of his nobles go over to Philip and Richard, *ib.*; at the conference of Le Ferté, Bernard proposes that his son John should marry Adelais instead of Richard—Philip refuses—the conference breaks up, and war is renewed, 252; at war with Philip and his son Richard—compelled to fly before Philip, 253; holds another conference with Philip and Richard in the neighbourhood of Tours, 256; seized with a fatal illness, and retiring to Chinon, pronounces a malediction upon his sons, and expires, 258; his corpse carried to Fontevrault to be interred—Richard meets it on the way, and assumes the place of chief mourner, 260; the treasures sent by him to the Holy Land in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket appropriated to the payment of the forces of Guy of Lusignan, 386.

Henry, Prince, married at an early age to the Princess Margaret, i. 161; sent with his young queen to the court of Louis—the English monarch summons him thence, 386; attacks Normandy, but is repulsed, ii. 46; obtains his father's consent to leave England—recalled on the arrival of Richard and Geoffrey, 188; causes his vice-chancellor to be scourged, 192; holds the crown over the head of Philip Augustus at his coronation, iii. 159; makes a tour through France as a wandering knight, 171; in arms against Richard, 185; deceives his father, Henry II., with promises of submission, 188; swears to take the cross, 189; throws off the cross and takes arms against his father, 191; seized with severe illness at the town of Martel—his father sends his ring as token of forgiveness, 193; his death and character, 194.

Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, banished by the Emperor Frederic, iii. 168.

Henry, Count of Champagne, assumes the crown of Jerusalem, iv. 253.

Henry VI., Emperor, imprisons Richard, iv. 295; exacts a ransom, 337; forced to set the King of England at liberty, 351; assumes the cross—takes possession of the kingdom of Sicily—his brutal conduct to the son of Tancred, 401; dies at Messina, 402.

Hermopolis, battle of, iii. 116.

Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, arrives in England to entreat Henry's assistance against Saladin, iii. 210; returns to Palestine without the co-operation of the kings of France and England, 216; his indecent conduct, 378.

Holy Cross, carried to the battle of Tiberiad, captured by the Saracens, iii. 406.

Hospital, Knights of—a number taken prisoners by Saladin at the battle of Tiberiad, put to death on their refusal to abjure Christianity, iii. 409, 410.

Hugh of Cæsarea, falls into the hands of the Mahommedans, iii. 117.

Hugh of Vermandois—his character, ii. 312; joined by a number of nobles, 313; receives at Lucca, from the pope, the standard of St. Peter, 315; his message to the Greek Emperor—is detained at Durazzo, and sent prisoner to Constantinople, 316; departs for France, iii. 3; attempts to return to Syria, 44; is severely wounded in a battle with Kilig Arslan—reaches Tarsus, where he dies, 45.

Humphrey of Thoron, taken prisoner by Saladin, iii. 406.

Ida, Marchioness of Austria, attempts to return to Syria in company with Hugh of Vermandois and Stephen, Count of Blois, iii. 44.

Iftikhur-eddaule, causes the wells round Jerusalem to be filled up, iii. 20.

Ismalians, sect of—its rise among the

Mahommedans, iii. 55; its progress and character, 56.
Ivenus—his gallant defence of the bridge and gate of the city of Carac, iii. 360.

Jacquelin de Maillo—his valour at the field of Nazareth, iii. 383.
James of Avesnes, slain, in an engagement with the Mussulmans, after killing fifteen with his own hand, iv. 207; grief of the army at his loss—his funeral, 209, 210.
Jerusalem, surrenders to the Khalif Omar, ii. 258; pilgrims to, exaction practised towards, 268; the Crusaders besiege it, iii. 18; tremendous slaughter of the Mahommedan inhabitants of, 29; council at, property and income tax levied, 354; summoned to surrender by Saladin, 420; state of, at the time when besieged by Saladin, 424; sufferings of the people, 425; its inhabitants determine to capitulate, 428.
Jews—massacre of, at Richard's coronation—Benedict saved by being baptized, iii. 283.
Jocelyn de Courtenay—the heir-apparent to the crown of Jerusalem, consigned to the care of, iii. 365; his anxiety to place his niece upon the throne, 368; seizes the city of Acre, and obtains possession of Berytes by treachery, 371.
John, calls the barons to his aid, iv. 309; meets William Longchamp at Winchester, 310, 311; marches into the city of London, and is joyfully received by the citizens, 313; seizes the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, 322; his intrigues against his brother, 324; his efforts to seduce the Norman barons, 346; offers a large sum to induce the Emperor Henry VI. to detain Richard prisoner, 350; flees to the continent on the entire suppression of his party, 354; cited to appear at Nottingham, 355; forgiven by his brother, 367; succeeds his brother Richard, 418.
Joscelyn II., regains possession of Edessa, iii. 65; unable to reduce the Mussulman troops in the citadel of Edessa—besieged by the forces of Noureddin, 66; endeavours to cut his way through the Mahommedan troops, 67; defeats the Atabec troops—captures the arms of Noureddin—is taken prisoner by him, and dies in a dungeon at Aleppo, 91.
Julian the Apostate, attempts to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem—fails in succeeding, ii. 248.

Kemeschtekin, an Emir of the city of Harem, accused of favouring the Christians — arrested and put to death by Malek Saleh, iii. 319, 320.
Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul, marches to the assistance of Antioch, ii. 394; surrounds the Christians in Antioch, 404; is completely discomfited by the Christians, 416.
Khalif of Bagdad, reduced to a kind of spiritual chief, ii. 375.
Kilig Arslan, attacks the crusaders—obtains a signal victory—Hugh of Vermandois mortally wounded—the Marchioness Ida trampled to death or taken prisoner, iii. 45.
Kilig Arslan II., totally defeats the Emperor Manuel at Iconium, iii. 149.
Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—an order instituted by Godfrey of Bouillon, iii. 41.
Knights Templars, order of, springs up in the reign of Baldwin de Bourg, iii. 51; their origin, object, dress, manners, regulations, 52.
La Perche, Count of, his son married to the daughter of the Duke of Saxony, niece of Richard, iii. 264.
Leicester, Earl of, taken prisoner with his wife at the battle of Farnham—sent to Henry at Normandy, ii. 48; delivers up to Henry the fortresses of Leicester, Mount Sorel, and Groby, 92.
Lombards, advance with their army to meet the Emperor Frederic—they draw up between the river Ticino and Legnano, ii. 217.

London, the greatest commercial city of the times, i. 28.
London, Bishop of, receives letters from Becket, commanding the bishop to appear before him in forty days, i. 302.
Longchamp, William, Bishop of Ely, appointed a commissioner to execute the office of high justiciary, iii. 298; powers delegated to him by Richard, iv. 9; his overbearing conduct, 307; besieges Lincoln, 309; his treaty with John, 310, 311; causes Geoffrey to be imprisoned, 312; attempts to escape to the Continent in disguise —is discovered, and confined in Dover Castle—is liberated—goes to Flanders, and thence into Normandy, 316, 317; appeals to Richard and the pope—Clementine espouses his cause, and commands the English bishops to excommunicate John, 319; fined five hundred pounds of silver for returning to England, 320; visits Richard at Trifels, 331; bears Henry VI.'s golden bull to England, 339.
Louis the Young, undertakes a crusade—married to Eleanor, i. 73; meets with misfortune—retires to Antioch, 74; gives Henry full investiture of Normandy — attacks Henry, but is compelled to retire, 77; divorced from Eleanor, 79; is enraged at the marriage of Eleanor, and makes war upon Henry in Normandy, 80; sues for peace, 81; affiances his infant daughter to Henry, son of the English monarch, 128; prepares a crusade against the Moors of Spain, 132; determines to succour the Count of Toulouse, 153; attacks the dominions of Henry in Normandy, 154; marries within one fortnight of the death of Constance his second wife, 159; accuses Henry of fraud and deceit, and prepares for war, 162; sends an army into the Norman Vexin—a truce concluded, 164; encourages the Barons of Britanny to revolt against Henry, 274; takes the two Counts of Auvergne prisoners, but releases them at the demand of Henry II., 279; attacks the frontiers of Normandy to avenge the insult offered to his daughter, the Princess Margaret, 335; meets Henry at Freteval, when peace is restored, 336; commences hostilities against Henry II. ii. 27; his force, 28; negotiates a truce with Henry—remits his forces, 66; his plans against the territories of Henry, 68; lays siege to Rouen, 90; retreats, 100; refuses to surrender the French Vexin and the town of Bourges en Berri, 236; his letters of protection to Henry, 243; seized with remorse after having burned thirteen hundred people in the church of Vitry—as an atonement, resolves to take the cross, iii. 71, 72; extent of his army in the second crusade, 74; reaches Constantinople in safety—advances to Nicea, and encamps under its walls, 77; hears of the defeat of Conrad—meeting between the two monarchs, 78; continues his march —encounters the Turks, and defeats them, 79; his army suffers much in the march to Laodicea, *ib.*; divides his army into two divisions—sends forward the first under the command of Geoffrey de Rancun—is attacked with the remainder by the Turkish forces, 80; his remarkable escape in the battle with the Turks, near Laodicea, 81; rejoins Geoffrey de Rancun, they march together to Attalia—decides himself to go from that place to Antioch by sea, 82; received at Antioch with honour and distinction—departs for Jerusalem — besieges Damascus, 85; makes preparations for the coronation of his son Philip, 157; makes an expedition to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket on behalf of the health of his son Philip, 158.

Mahommed, his rise, ii. 251.

Mahommedans, tidings reach them of the approach of the Christians, ii. 377.
Mahommedanism, nature of, ii. 252.
Malcolm, King of Scotland, renders homage to Henry, i. 124; receives the honour of knighthood at the hand of Henry II. of England, 156; places himself under the banner of Henry II., 151.
Malek-adel, brother of Saladin, receives intelligence of Renault de Chatillon having marched to Medina with the intention of carrying off the body of Mahommed—dispatches Hossan-eddin with a large fleet, who forces the Christians to raise the siege, and overtaking the troops of Renault de Chatillon, defeats them with great slaughter, iii. 351; takes Carac and Shaubec, iv. 110; his chivalrous conduct, 277.
Malek-saleh, arrests and puts to death Kemeschtekin, who had been suspected of favouring the Christians, iii. 320; nominates as his successor Ezz-eddin Massoud—his death, 340.
Manuel determines to molest the crusaders in their march through his territories, iii. 75; offers to purchase the principality of Edessa, and to maintain it with his own troops, 92; fails to preserve it, 94; his niece united to Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, 107; enters into negotiations with Noureddin—returns to his own capital, 108; his kindness to Baldwin at a hunting expedition at Antioch, 108, *note;* proposes to marry either a princess of Antioch or of Tripoli, at the choice of Baldwin, 109; defeated by Kilig Arslan II., 149.
Margarit, the Sicilian High Admiral, his gallantry, iv. 113.
Marrah, capture of, by the crusaders, iii. 7; terrible famine at, 9.
Matilda, declared next in succession to the crown of England, i. 45; married to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, 46; claims of, to the crown of England, 49; sets sail for England, accompanied by her brother and 140 knights, 61; reaches England, and is kindly received by Adelais, the Queen Dowager, 62; is escorted by Stephen's troops, 63; her conduct to the citizens of London—is besieged by them, and flies to Oxford, 64; endeavours to surprise the Bishop of Winchester, 65; escapes from Oxford, 68; abandons England, 71.
Matthew, son of the Count of Flanders, marries Mary of Blois, and thus obtains possession of the County of Boulogne, i. 289.
Melesinda, her authority shaken off by Baldwin—she receives the city of Naplouse as her dowry, iii. 89.
Modaffar-eddin, defeats completely the Knights Templars at Nazareth, iii. 383.
Montferrat, Marquis of, treats with Henry for an alliance between his heir and a daughter of the house of Plantagenet, i. 295; taken prisoner by Saladin, iii. 401.
Mortimer, Roger, and the young Earl of Hertford oppose Henry's resumption of their lands, i. 112.
Mount Olivet, a knight in shining armour appears on, urging the crusaders onwards to Jerusalem—the cry spreads amongst them that St. George had come from heaven to help them, iii. 27.

Nasreddin, the murderer of his grandfather, the Vizier Adel, iii. 96; murders the Khalif Diafer Billah, 97; flies to Ascalon from the Egyptians—the Templars deliver him up on receiving a reward, *ib.*
Nasret-eddin, brother of Noureddin, in his illness, advances to seize Aleppo—Noureddin recovers—he is obliged to flee, iii. 105.
Normandy acknowledges Stephen as duke, i. 56.
Northampton, Council cited at, by King Henry, to try the cause of John the Marshal—Becket cited, i. 231.

Northampton, Earl of, dies, i. 99.
Noureddin, on the death of his father, Zengui, establishes himself in Aleppo, iii. 65; reconciliation proposed with Saif-eddin, *ib.*; invests the city of Edessa, and levels its walls to the ground, 67, 68; defeated by Joscelyn, Count of Edessa, at Aleppo—afterwards takes the Count prisoner while hunting, and condemns him to a dungeon at Aleppo, 90; besieges Nepa, a town in the territory of Antioch—kills in battle Raymond, Prince of Antioch, 92; ingratiates himself with the emir of Damascus—marches against the city with a large army—succeeds in capturing it, and sends the emir in a vessel to Bagdad, 101; besieges the city of Paneas—feigns a retreat, and totally ruins Baldwin, 102; is seized with a severe illness—his emirs prepare to divide his dominions amongst them, 104; recovers from his sickness, 106; his great loss at the battle of the Castle of the Curdes, 114; prepares to undertake the conquest of Egypt, 115; dispatches in Egypt a large body of troops, 125; appoints Saladin vizier, 128; determines to check the ambition of his, lieutenant, Saladin, 136; Saladin having retreated to Cairo, he threatens to march into Egypt—is appeased by a submissive letter written by Saladin—determines to renew his attack upon Carac—commands Saladin once more to attend him, *ib.*; prepares to invade Egypt, but is seized with illness, and expires—his character, 139.

Octavian and Orlando—their double election to the see of Rome, i. 165.
Omar, Khalif, successor of Mahommed, besieges Jerusalem, ii. 255; his journey to Jerusalem, 257; builds a mosque on the site of the Temple of Solomon, 259.
Orlando opposed to the Emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, i. 165; assumes the name of Alexander III., 166.
O'Rourke attempts to assassinate Hugh de Lacy, ii. 142.
Otho of Saxony elected to the imperial crown, iv. 403.

Paganis, Hugh de, with Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, institutes the order of Knights Templars, iii. 52.
Pavia, council at, to decide between the Popes Alexander and Victor, i. 167; council of, decides in favour of Victor, 169.
Pembroke, Earl of, engages in the cause of Dermot, i. 372; solicits Henry's permission to make the conquest of the whole land, 373; becomes Sovereign of Leinster, 375; refuses his sister in marriage to Raymond Fitzgerald, ii. 143; marches to attack Cork—a body of his troops surprised—all Ireland in arms against him, 144.
Peter Bartlemy, the finder of the holy lance at the church of St. Peter, in Antioch, accused of deception—condemned to the fiery ordeal—is burned to death, iii. 14.
Peter, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, arrives in France—his mission, ii. 230.
Peter the Hermit—his journey to Jerusalem, ii. 265; his indignation excited at the treatment of the Christians, 266; determines to preach a crusade, 267; believes himself divinely inspired, 268; travels throughout Europe, 272; leads a band of plunderers to the Holy Land, 293; wanton outrage of a body of his army upon Nissa—completely routed, 294; reassembles an army—reaches the city of Phillipopoli, 295; joins Walter Sansavoir at Constantinople, 296; retires from his troops, *ib.*; joins Godfrey of Bouillon with the remainder of his scattered forces, 358; sent to Kerboga to demand that the quarrel between the Christians and the Turks should be decided

by single combat, 409; reproves the vices of the crusaders, iii. 23.
Philip Augustus, birth of, i. 270; while hunting, separated from his attendant—found by a charcoal-burner, iii. 157; seized with a severe illness—his father undertakes an expedition to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket on his behalf, 158; his coronation at Rheims, 159; engages to marry Isabella of Hainault, 161; marries Isabella at Bapeaume, 162; receives aid from Prince Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, in the insurrection produced by his nobles, 172; receives homage of Henry II., 203; forces the Count of Flanders to submission, 210; demands the guardianship of the daughter of Geoffrey, 220; holds a meeting with Henry II. at the ford of St. Remi—they part to prepare for war, 222; persuades Richard to attend him at the French court, 225; abandons his claim to the guardianship of the Duchess of Britanny, 228; arms in defence of the Count of Toulouse, 238; ravages the frontiers of Normandy, 240; hires a force of Brabançois—his treatment of them, 247; restores to Richard the towns of Chateauroux and Issodun with a considerable part of Berri—they agree to submit their claims to the arbitration of the pope's legate, 251; reiterates his demands, stipulating that Prince John should take the cross, 252; captures the city of Tours, 255; his first wife, Isabella, dies—makes his mother and his uncle, the Cardinal of Champagne, regents, and guardians of his son, during his absence in the Holy Land, iv. 10; offers to aid Tancred to destroy the King of England, 49; sends envoys to Richard to induce him to abandon his enterprise against the Emperor of Cyprus, 86; his attack on Acre unsuccessful, 153; claims one half of the Island of Cyprus, 174; demands permission from Richard to quit the Holy Land, 177; leaves the Duke of Burgundy to carry on the war on his behalf—sails for France, 180; —arrives at Paris, 321; induces John to usurp Richard's continental dominions, *ib.*; continues his intrigues with John, 324; marries Ingeburga, daughter of the King of Denmark—separates from her, and is divorced, 345; pursues his schemes against Richard, 345; offers to give Henry VI. a large sum to detain Richard prisoner, 350; seizes a great portion of Normandy, 366; defeated by Richard, 373; destroys the fortress of Vandreuil, 380; takes Dieppe, and burns the vessels in the port—the rear of his army overtaken by Richard, and cut to pieces, 382; promises assistance to Richard's rebellious subjects, 389; nearly drowned while crossing a bridge over the Epte, 395; marries Agnes de Meranie—opposition of the pope, 404, 405.
Philip, Count of Flanders, prepares to invade England, i. 290; arrives in the Holy Land—leads his troops towards Aleppo, iii. 319.
Poictiers, Count of, attempts a return to Syria, iii. 44.

Quintaine, game of, i. 11.

Ramla, battle of, iii. 325.
Ramula, battle of, iii. 45; the Mahommedans raise the siege of, 47.
Rancun, Geoffrey de, holds out against Prince Richard in Aquitaine, iii. 155.
Ranulph de Broc, pillages the revenue of the see of Canterbury, i. 344; affords assistance to the conspirators, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Reginald Fitzurse, and Richard Brito, 355; the conspirators arrive at the archbishop's palace, and press him to absolve the excommunicated bishops, 356.
Ranulph de Glanville dies, iv. 135.
Raymond, Count of St. Giles, appointed to command the Christians with the Bishop of Buy, ii. 282;

seized with a dangerous illness, 367; arrives at Nicea to the assistance of the crusaders, 350; proceeds with great success towards Jerusalem, iii. 11; refuses to pay Tancred the sums of money he had promised, 12; commands the right at the battle of Ascalon, 39; is victorious over the Saracens, *ib.*; seized with illness, and dies at the siege of Tripoli, 48.

Raymond, Prince of Antioch, marches to the aid of Nepa—gives battle to the Mahommedans—his immense strength—dies on the field, iii. 92.

Rees ap Gryffyth in arms against King Henry, i. 194; is again in arms against King Henry, and induces all the Welsh princes to join him, 196; marches to the aid of Richard de Lucy, ii. 75.

Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, natural son of Henry II.—his death, ii. 173.

Renault de Chatillon, Regent of Antioch, captured by the Turks, and taken to Aleppo, iii. 109; besieges the town of Ela—marches to attack Mecca, or Medina, with the intention of carrying off the body of Mahommed—fails, 351; supports Sybilla in her claim to the throne of Jerusalem, 369; taken prisoner by Saladin, 401; put to death by his order, 408.

Richard Plantagenet, born at Oxford, in September, 1157, i. 135; his early education, ii. 1; flies to the court of France, 15; his impatient character, 16; receives knighthood at the hands of the King of France, 63; takes the fortresses of Ayen and Bayonne, 102; throws himself at the feet of his father, 106; signs as one of the witnesses to the treaty between the Kings of Scotland and England, 119; obtains a complete victory over the Brabançois at Barbezieux, 190; carries the war into the territories of the Viscount of Limoges, 191; his victorious progress, 194; succeeds in preventing obstruction to pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, 204; his successful career in Aquitaine, iii. 154; attacks the town of Taillebourg—takes it, and levels it to the ground, 156; returns to join his father Henry in England, *ib.*; leads the troops of Aquitaine and Poitou to the assistance of Philip Augustus, 173; refuses to do homage to his brother Henry, 182; surrenders the castle of Clarevaux to his father, 186; does homage to his father for the duchy of Aquitaine, 199; refuses to surrender Aquitaine to his brother John, 206; delivers up Poitou into the hands of his mother, Eleanor, 213; he marches against the Count of Toulouse, 217; takes possession of a great part of his father's treasure at the Castle of Chinon, 227; repents of his disobedience, *ib.*; takes the holy cross, 230; marches against Geoffrey of Lusignan, who had murdered one of his friends—compels him to fly to the Holy Land, 235; reduces the towns of Cahors and Moissac, 237; his combat with William des Barres, 242; offers to submit his quarrel with the Count of Toulouse to the Court of Peers of France—demands of his father that his union with Adelais might take place, 249; does homage to the King of France, 250; with Philip, captures the city of Tours in the war with his father, Henry II., 255; engaged to marry the Princess Adelais on his return from the Holy Land, 257; his contrition on meeting the funeral procession of his father—assumes the place of chief mourner, 260; casts Stephen of Tours into prison, 261; hastens to Leez, in Normandy, and receives absolution from the Archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen, 263; bestows the hand of his niece upon the son of the Count of La Perche, 264; confirms what his father had intended with regard to his brother John—nominates Geoffrey to the Archbishopric of York, 266, 267; liberates his mother from her con-

finement in prison, 267; returns to England—his bounty to his brother John, 272; his personal appearance on his accession to the throne, 275; on his arrival in London, conducted by the citizens in procession to Westminster, 277; his coronation, 279—281; his horror and indignation on hearing of the massacre of the Jews, 286; makes preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, 289; grants to William, King of Scotland, emancipation of his dominion from subjection to the English crown, 294; appoints six commissioners to execute the office of high justiciary, 298; binds himself to meet Philip at Vezelay, 302; terminates the dispute between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the monks, 310 — 312; his interview with Philip at the ford of St. Remi, iv. 3; summons the Queen mother, Prince John, and Geoffrey into Normandy, to hold council for the arrangement of affairs in England, 4; promulgates a code of laws, 7; sets out for the Holy Land, 11; description of his forces, 12; declares Arthur to be heir to his dominions, 39; quarrels with William des Barres, called the Achilles of France, 45; refuses to marry Adelais 54; his troops imprisoned in Cyprus, 73; makes a descent on the coast, 75; marries Berengaria, 81; captures the daughter of the Emperor of Cyprus, 87; takes possession of the island of Cyprus, *ib.*; sends the Emperor of Cyprus in silver chains to Tripoli, where he remained a prisoner till death, 90; arrives at Tyre, 145; met by Philip on his arrival at Acre, 147; his severe illness, 151; his attempt on Acre unsuccessful, 160; massacres five thousand Mussulman prisoners, 184, 185; leaves Acre — is opposed by Saladin, 187; the rear guard of his army attacked by the Saracens—the enemy driven off, 190; reaches Cæsarea, 194; is wounded by a javelin in his side, 197; attacked by Saladin with an army of 300,000 men—drives the enemy back with great slaughter, 203—207; advances upon Joppa, 211; nearly taken prisoner while flying his hawks in the neighbourhood of Joppa, 216; risks his life in the defence of a small party of Knights Templars, 218—220; the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Austria jealous of his superiority, 220; Malek-adel sent to negotiate with him, 222—224; his troops suffer from a stormy and tempestuous season — their destitution, 224; dissensions in the camp, *ib.*; returns to Ascalon, 229; quarrels with the Duke of Austria, 231; receives a letter from Longchamp, informing him of the critical state of his English dominions, 239, 240; determines to place the crown of Jerusalem on the head of Conrad, and depart for England, 241; accused of instigating the murder of Conrad, 245; improbability of the charge, 246—250; persuaded by one of his chaplains to remain in the Holy Land, 257; hastens to the assistance of Jaffa, 271; enters into a truce of three years with Saladin, 281; is taken ill, 282; disgraceful conduct of the European princes to his army, 286; sails from Syria, 287; assumes a disguise on arriving at Carniola, 290; is recognised at Goritz by Meinhard, 291; arrested at Vienna by the Duke of Austria, 295; transferred to the custody of the Emperor Henry VI., *ib.*; news of his captivity reaches England — appeal made to the pope, 328; his place of confinement discovered, 330; summoned by Henry VI. to appear before the diet at Haguenau, 332; his defence —proclaimed innocent, 334; ransom demanded by Henry VI.—efforts of the King of France to prolong his imprisonment, 337; tax imposed for raising his ransom,

341; the emperor forced to liberate him, 351; reaches England, and is joyfully received, 353; offers up the banner of Cyprus at the shrine of St. Edmund—takes Nottingham Castle, 354; sentence of deprivation and confiscation pronounced against John's adherents, *ib.*; re-crowned at Winchester, 357; collects a large fleet and army at Portsmouth, 360; lands in France, 361; reconciled to his brother, 367; defeats Philip, between Fretevel and Blois, 373; a truce for one year agreed upon, 374; restores Philip's sister, *ib.*; division of the country between him and the French king, 384; attacks several towns in northern Normandy, and seizes upon Vierzon, 387; his embarrassed position, 388; determines upon assuming the guardianship of his nephew, *ib.*; Constance seeks the protection of the French king, 389; open resistance of his authority proclaimed — the insurrection suppressed — allows Arthur to remain under the care of Constance, 389; defeats Philip at Epte, 394; is opposed by the Bishop of Beauvais—takes the bishop and many knights and gentlemen prisoners—casts the bishop into prison, 396; urged to join a fresh crusade, 400; declines, 401; his exactions to meet the expense of his wars—opposed by a demagogue named William Fitz Osbert, 405—409; promulgates several new edicts, 409, 410; appoints Geoffrey Fitz Pierre justiciary, 410; enraged at the refusal of the Viscount of Limoges to deliver up a treasure found on his estate—marches into the Limousin—surrounds the castle of Chalus, 412; wounded in the left shoulder while examining the works, 413; his interview with Bertram de Gourdun—his magnanimity, 416; dies, leaving his dominions to his brother John—summary of his character, 418, 419.

Robert, Count of Flanders, arrives at Constantinople, ii. 338; does homage to the Emperor Alexius, 340; entrapped into ambuscade by the Turks, but succeeds in cutting his way through, 379.

Robert of Normandy, arrives at Constantinople, and does homage to the Greek Emperor, ii. 342; in the centre at the battle of Ascalon, iii. 39.

Roderick, King of Connaught, concedes the territory of Connaught to Henry, ii. 141.

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, proves treacherous to Matilda, i. 51; Tancred, on his death-bed, delivers the government of Antioch over to him, exacting a promise that Roger should acknowledge the claim of the son of Boemond, iii. 49.

Rouen, Archbishop of, crowns the son of Henry II. and his wife at Winchester, i. 385; grants absolution to Richard—at Rouen, performs the ceremony of his investiture as Duke of Normandy, iii. 263.

Saif-eddin, suffers a severe defeat at the hands of Saladin, iii. 146; on the death of his father, takes possession of Moussoul, 65; commandant of Acre, and the Emir Caracousch, offer to surrender Acre to the French king conditionally—their proposal rejected, iv. 161, 162.

St. Aldemar, Geoffrey de, with Hugh de Paganis, institute the order of Knights Templars, iii. 52.

St. Bernard, enlisted as the advocate of a second crusade, iii. 69; his character, 71; succeeds in inducing the Emperor Conrad of Germany to assume the cross, 72; his success in preaching the second crusade, 73.

Saint Clare, Hubert, gallant conduct of, at Bridgenorth, i. 113.

St. Peter of Antioch, Church—vision of a Provençal priest that the spear of our Lord would be found buried

beneath it—the spear searched for and found, ii. 409.
Ste. Palaye, M. de, his account of the origin of knighthood, ii. 51.
Saladin, agrees to take part in the revolutions of the East, iii. 105; effects a diversion in favour of Schircou at the battle of Hermopolis, 116; besieged by Almeric and Schawer at Alexandria, 119; given as a hostage to Almeric, 120; strikes off the head of Schawer, the Egyptian sultan, 127; appointed vizier on the death of Schircou, *ib.*; his hesitation in accepting the office of vizier—his character, 129; advances to the aid of Damietta, 133; ravages the territories of Ascalon and Gaza, 134; attacks the city of Schaubec — writes a submissive letter to Noureddin, 136; advances to attack the fortress of Carac, and again retires into Egypt, 137; discovers a conspiracy against himself—causes the principal conspirators to be crucified, 143; takes possession of Damascus, 145; defeats Saif-eddin, 146; enters into a truce with the Christians—restores their hostages, 146; enters into a treaty with Ismael—confirmed in the rule of Egypt and the greater part of Syria—assumes the title of sultan, 147; his increasing power, 149; causes a number of Christian captives to be beheaded, 321; hurries with a large force to besiege Ascalon—retires from Ascalon, determined to attack Jerusalem, 322 — 324; defeated by Baldwin, and is himself wounded at the battle of Ramla, 327; attacks the newly-erected fortress of the Christians on the river Jordan, but is repulsed with great loss, 331; advances into the territory of Sidon, 332; routs the forces of Baldwin —takes prisoners the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, with a number of others, 333; negotiates a truce with Baldwin — the Count of Tripoli not concurring, enters and ravages his territories—at length concludes a treaty with the Count, 337; enters Palestine and lays siege to Berytes —compelled to retire, 345; takes the cities of Edessa, Amida, and Singar — turns his arms against Moussoul, but compelled to retire —marches to attack the city of Aleppo, 347; the city of Aleppo delivered into his hands by Emad-eddin, 348; takes the city of Harem, *ib.*; enters the territory of Jerusalem, 355; the Christian army having assembled and encamped near the Sultan's, he retreats towards Damascus — besieges Carac, 357; proceeds with the siege of Carac—precision with which he discharges blocks of stone, &c., against the walls—retreats, 360; enters into a truce with the Count of Tripoli—marches against the Prince of Moussoul—concludes terms of peace, 366, 367; sends off a body of Mahommedan troops and liberates a number of Tripolitan prisoners, 377; raises the siege of Carac, and places himself at the head of his forces at Damascus, 389; marches against the City of Tiberiad, and takes it by storm, 391, 392; leaves a small body of troops to blockade the citadel, and puts himself at the head of his main army, 397; reproaches Renault of Chatillon with his meditated attack upon Mecca and Medina—offers him his life on condition of his embracing Mahommedism—on his refusal, gives the signal for his emirs to put him to death, 408; puts to death the knights of the Temple and Hospital who had been taken prisoners, 409; orders the governor of Damascus to put to death all the knights of the Temple and Hospital prisoners in that town, 411; the citadel of Tiberiad surrenders to him—takes Nazareth—advances upon Acre—its citizens flee before him—takes Sidon and several places in the neighbourhood, 413; lays siege to

Ascalon, 415; his march to Jerusalem one continued triumph, 417; summons Jerusalem to surrender, 424; obtains possession of Jerusalem, 430; cleanses the city of Jerusalem, iv. 93; marches to Ascalon, 98; lays siege to Tyre, 99; offers to set at liberty the old Marquis of Montferrat if Conrad would surrender the city—the proposal treated with contempt, 101, 102; is drawn into a snare by Conrad, and his troops defeated, 103; abandons the siege, 104; sends the Marquis of Montferrat to Tyre, also sets free the son of Renault of Sidon, 105; takes Gibleh, Margat, Biblis, and the Syrian Laodicea, 109; enters into a truce with Boemond—retires to Damascus, and dismisses the greater part of his forces, 110; takes Sefed, besieges Kaukab, which surrenders, 111; attacks Guy of Lusignan before Acre, 120; his efforts to relieve the city, 131; courtesy to Richard during his illness, 155; makes a descent on the camp of the crusaders before Acre, 164; fails to fulfil the terms of the capitulation of Acre, 183—185; opposes Richard with an army of 300,000 men on his march to Ascalon, 199; is driven back, 201—204; his grief at the loss of the battle, 211; destroys the fortresses of Ascalon and Ramla, and retreats upon Jerusalem, 212; repairs and strengthens the fortifications of Jerusalem, 258, 259; invests the city of Jaffa—the Christians surrender—are succoured by Richard—panic seizes the Moslem troops, 267; agrees to a truce of three years, 281; his health gives way, 283.

Salisbury, John of, imputes miraculous efficacy to the tomb of à Becket, i. 363; sends two monks to Rome as accusers of the English monarch, 366.

Sancho, King of Navarre, sends envoys to Henry II., to determine matters of dispute between himself and Alphonso of Castile, ii. 177.

Schawer, Vizier of Egypt, on the accession of Aded-liden-allah, forced to flee, iii. 111; entreats the aid of the Christians against the Emir Schircou — reinstated in his authority, 113; threatened by the forces of Noureddin—solicits aid from Almeric, King of Jerusalem, 115; suspected of holding a communication with Noureddin, 123; his head struck off by Saladin, 127.

Schircou, a great general of Noureddin, defends Aleppo against Nasret-eddin, iii. 105; forced by Almeric to quit the country, 113; at the battle of Hermopolis, gives the command of a large body of troops to Saladin, with orders to attack the Christians in their rear while he engaged them in front, 116; hastens to Alexandria—leaves Saladin with a thousand men in the town, and marches to Upper Egypt, 118; advances to the relief of Alexandria, 119; instigates Almeric to attempt the conquest of Egypt, 122; advances with a large force to the relief of Cairo—forces Almeric to retreat to Jerusalem, 126; on the decapitation of Schawer, invested with the dignity of vizier—dies in about two months after, 127.

Sens, Archbishop of, pronounces sentence of interdict upon Henry's continental dominions, i. 366.

Society, great change in, between the years 1140 and 1180, ii. 137.

Soliman, Sultan of the Seljukian Turks, raises an army to defend Nicea, ii. 346; endeavours to force an entrance into Nicea, but is repulsed, 350; follows Boemond—overtakes him in the valley of Gorgon, 360; his fierce onslaught, 361.

Sow, the, a military engine constructed by a Lombard, through means of which a tower of the city of Nicea is burned, and entrance procured to the crusaders, ii. 352.

Stephen of Blois, arrives at Constantinople, and does homage to the

Greek emperor, ii. 342; retires from the crusading army, 395; retreats towards Constantinople, 405; attempts to return to Syria, iii. 44; reaches Jerusalem with but one or two other princes—his aid is entreated by Baldwin, 45; taken prisoner, and put to death at the battle of Ramula, 46.

Stephen, Count of Boulogne, binds himself to support Matilda, i. 47; determines to oppose her, 49; sails for England, 50; proclaimed king of England by the citizens of London, 52; proceeds to Winchester—is well received, and is joined by William du Pont de l'Arche, 53; crowned, 54; announces at Oxford that his title to the throne of England had been confirmed by papal authority, 55; acknowledged as Duke of Normandy, 56; quarrels with his barons, 58; causes the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be arrested, 60; offends the clergy, 61; taken prisoner, 63; exchanged for the Earl of Gloucester, 65; falls dangerously ill, 67; offends his nobles and clergy, 70; his progress, *ib.*; continues to quarrel with the clergy, 71; advances to York, 72; endeavours to procure the assent of the clergy to the coronation of his son Eustace as his heir and successor, 82; continues to alienate the people, *ib.*; confines the clergy, 83; lays siege to the castle of Wallingford, 84; attacks Henry at Malmesbury, 88; consents to a short suspension of hostilities, 97; treaty with Henry, 101; infringes it, 104.

Stephen, Count of Sancerre, sides with the Count of Flanders in his quarrel with Philip Augustus, iii. 169; seizes the castle of St. Brice, and fortifies himself in Chatillon, 170; reduced to subjection by the English princes, and compelled to cast himself at the feet of his sovereign, 173.

Stephen of Tours, cast into prison by Richard for alleged malpractices during his father's reign, iii. 261.

Sybilla, her hand bestowed on William Longsword, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, by her brother, Baldwin the Lesser, iii. 317; married to Guy of Lusignan, 335; her pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem, on the death of Baldwin V., supported by Renault de Chatillon, 369; with Guy of Lusignan, &c., seizes the city of Jerusalem, and shuts the gates against the nobles of the country, 371; her coronation—places a crown also upon the head of Guy of Lusignan, 374; quits Jerusalem to join her husband at Naplouse, 420; dies, iv. 137.

Syria, condition of, at the time of the crusades, ii. 376.

Tancred, his character — accompanies Boemond, ii. 333; joins the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, without doing homage to Alexius, 337; nearly made prisoner by the troops of Soliman, 363; at Pisidia, determines to explore the country—is joined by Baldwin, 367; takes his way through Cilicia—makes himself master of Tarsus, but surrenders it to Baldwin, and takes Mamistra, 368; with the rest of the crusaders, enters the territory of Antioch, 379; brings back the Count of Melun and Peter the Hermit, who had attempted to fly from the army, 388; withdraws from Raymond, that prince refusing to pay the money he had promised, and joins himself to Godfrey, iii. 12; dispatched with a hundred lances to give assistance to Bethlehem—enthusiasm of the whole army, 17; reconciled to the Count of Toulouse, 23; breaks down the gate of St. Stephen, at Jerusalem, 27; in the centre at the battle of Ascalon, 39; in possession of Jerusalem at the death of Godfrey—sends messengers to offer the crown of Jerusalem to his cousin Boemond, 43; who had as-

sumed the regency of Antioch during the captivity of Boemond, surrenders the crown to Boemond on his release from captivity, 48; maintains the city of Antioch for three years against all attempts of the enemy — dies from the effects of a slight wound—delivers the government to his cousin, Roger, to be held under the son of Boemond—desires that after his death, his wife Cecilia should unite her faith with the Prince of Tripoli, 49; his feelings towards Richard, iv. 19.

Taticius, representative of the Emperor Alexius, deserts the crusaders, ii. 387.

Templars, Grand Master of, slain at the siege of Ascalon, iii. 98.

Temple, Knights of—a number taken prisoners by Saladin at the battle of Tiberiad—he puts them to death on their refusal to abjure Christianity, iii. 410.

Thoron, Humphrey, mortally wounded in an encounter with Ferokh-schah, iii. 330.

Thoros, Prince of Edessa, declares Baldwin to be his son and heir—is assassinated, ii. 372.

Tiberiad, first battle in, iii. 106; taken by Saladin — the citadel closely besieged by him, 392; citadel of, surrenders to Saladin—the Countess of Tripoli permitted to retire to her husband's dominions, 412.

Tithe, Saladin's—a revenue raised in France and England to defray the expenses of a new crusade, iii. 232.

Toulouse, council of, excommunicates Victor, and in return its decrees are declared schismatical, and its pope excommunicated, i. 176; council at, decides in favour of Alexander, *ib.*

Toulouse, Count of, profusion exhibited at his castle of Beaucaire, ii. 129; arrives with his army—Alexius endeavours to persuade him to do homage—he refuses—in the meantime, the troops of Alexius attack unawares those of the count, 341; besieges Carcassonne—is defeated by the King of Arragon, iii. 218; seizes a body of merchants, and treats them with great cruelty —is called to account by Richard —seizes two knights of Richard's household in their pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, and refuses to set them free till compelled by Richard, 236.

Tours, council held at, i. 203; captured by Philip and Richard, iii. 255.

Tours, Archbishop of, preaches a second crusade in France—persuades Richard and a number of knights to take the holy cross, iii. 230.

Tripoli, Count of, on the accession of Baldwin IV., appointed regent of the kingdom, iii. 142; prepares to oppose Saladin, 145; his territories ravaged by Saladin—a treaty of peace concluded, 337; advancing towards the lake of Tiberias, is ordered by the King of Jerusalem to retire, 343; becomes appeased, re-enters the kingdom, and consults with the monarch respecting the best means to be used to avert the impending storm from Egypt, 344; seized with illness, 346; recovers, 349; takes command of the forces of Jerusalem during the illness of Baldwin, 358; his arrival in the neighbourhood of Carac causes Saladin to retreat upon Damascus, 360; appointed by Baldwin regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem, 362; the conditions on which he accepts it, 364; receives Berytes and its territory as security for his expenses during the regency, 365; after the death of Baldwin, assumes the reins of government—concludes a truce with Saladin, 366; calumniated by the friends of Guy of Lusignan — accused of poisoning the young prince, 367; intrusts the funeral of Baldwin to the Knights Templars—hastens to Tiberiad to

protect it, 370; refuses to attend the coronation of Sybilla, and warns the patriarch from proceeding with the ceremony, 372; proposes to crown Humphrey of Thoron, but the young prince flees to Jerusalem, and does homage to Guy of Lusignan, 375; applies to Saladin for aid—a body of Mohammedan troops sent off to his support, 377; gives permission to the Mussulman troops to pass through his territories, on their promising merely to ravage the open country, and to return before nightfall — writes letters to the lords and governors of the various districts, to keep their people within the walls—writes also to the King's ambassadors at the Chateau of La Feue, 381; his regret on learning the defeat of the Knights Templars, 384; advises that Guy should assemble his army, and send to the Prince of Antioch for assistance, 385; his advice to Guy of Lusignan to suffer Tiberiad to be taken by Saladin—reply of the Grand Master of the Templars, 393, 394; the advice of the Grand Master of the Templars being taken in preference to his, leads the advanced guard of Guy's army to the assistance of Tiberiad, 396; ordered by Guy to attack the main body of the Sultan—succeeds in cutting his way through, 400, 401; the calumnies circulated respecting his conduct at the battle of Tiberiad disproved, 402, *note;* expires of grief, 407.

Troyes, Count of, arrives in Palestine to the assistance of Baldwin the Lesser, iii. 334.

Turcomans, bands of, take Jerusalem from the Khalif, ii. 263.

URBAN, Pope, determines to give assistance to Peter the Hermit, ii. 270; holds a council at Clermont, to determine the purposes of the crusade, 274; his address to the princes and prelates of Europe, 275; hearing of the disastrous state of Palestine, receives so severe a shock that he dies shortly after —is succeeded by Gregory VIII., iii. 229.

VERNEUIL, capitulation of, iv. 33.

Victor III. submits his claims to the council at Pavia, i. 167; dies in 1164, 257.

WALTER SANSAVOIR, leads the foremost host of crusaders to Palestine—meets with resistance at Bulgaria, ii. 291; forces his way through Bulgaria, and arrives at Constantinople, 292; engaged in a combat with the Turks, and falls, mortally wounded, 297.

Waverley, annals of, their account of the commencement of the second crusade, iii. 74, *note;* account of the expedition of Louis VII., 84, *note.*

William, Archbishop of Canterbury, follows the guidance of the Bishop of Winchester, i. 52.

William of Tyre—his animosity towards Joscelyn, Count of Edessa, iii. 90; preaches a crusade at a conference held between Henry and Philip near Gisors—all present engage to take the cross, 231; sent as an envoy to the Count of Tripoli from Guy of Lusignan, 379, 380; his efforts to rouse the princes and chivalry of Europe, iv. 112.

William, King of Scotland, invades England, but is driven back with loss, ii. 42; again invades England—his cruelty, 72; his capture by the English forces, 88; does homage to Henry for his whole kingdom, 117; as security, gives up to Henry five strong places, and assigns twenty-one hostages, 118; does homage to Henry at York, 140; purchases from Richard the emancipation of his dominions, iii. 294.

William Longsword, invited to Palestine by Baldwin the Lesser, and receives the hand of Sybilla, iii.

317; seized with a severe illness and expires, leaving his wife advanced in pregnancy, 318.
William of Ipres, selected by Stephen as leader of his troops, i. 57.
William Rufus, extravagance of, in apparel, i. 30; licentious reign of, 42.
William, son of Henry I., shipwreck of, i. 44, *note*.
William I.—his dealings with the Saxons, i. 12; establishes the feudal system, 14; his words on his death-bed, 43.
William the Good, King of Sicily, makes proposals for the hand of Joan, daughter of Henry II., ii. 175.
Winchester, Bishop of, confirms Stephen in his determination to oppose Matilda, i. 50; battle with Matilda—takes the Earl of Gloucester prisoner, 65; justifies his conduct, 66.
Zengui, Emad-eddin, founder of the Attabecs, protected in his youth by the Emir of Moussoul—fights under Kerboga—appointed to a high office in Bagdad—receives the government of Moussoul—endeavours to conquer Syria and Mesopotamia, iii. 60; seizes Haran—Aleppo surrenders to him—defeats the Christians—meets with misfortunes—besieged in Moussoul by the Khalif Mostarsched—forces him to raise the siege, 61; engaged in a contest with the Greek Emperor, and the Emir of Damascus—invests the city of Edessa with his troops in the absence of Joscelyn II.—obtains possession of the city of Edessa, and makes a great slaughter of the inhabitants, 61, 62; while besieging the town of Giabar, murdered in his sleep, two years after the fall of Edessa—his character, 63, 64.

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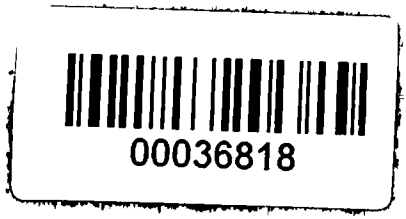
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